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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-199
Tuesday
17 October 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-199 *17 October 1989*

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Chernyshev Describes 'Faded' Status of SDI

PM1610162189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Candidate of technical sciences Colonel V. Chernyshev article under the rubric "SDI Prospects After the Wyoming Meeting": "The Faded Diamond of Military Programs"]

[Text] "SDI is dead," the American newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES concluded, analyzing the "star wars" problem, which, in its opinion, has reached an impasse due to the recent talks in Wyoming between the heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments. The newspaper explained its view of recent events as follows: SDI is now slowly dying before our eyes, and the Soviets' cunning move was the last nail in its coffin.

Of course, it is premature to say that SDI is "dead": It still has some pretty strong supporters, some of them in the ranks of the new U.S. Administration. So, to paraphrase Mark Twain's well-known words, it should be said that reports of the demise of "star wars" are greatly exaggerated. But at the same time it can be stated confidently that even before the Soviet-American meeting in Wyoming the "star knights" were experiencing serious difficulties.

First of all it must be pointed out that the popularity of the SDI program among the American public has recently declined sharply. This is mainly due to two factors. First, the "enemy image," in the shape of the Soviet Union, has faded in the eyes of Americans. In one public opinion poll a majority of Americans stated that they fear the economic threat from Japan more than the military threat from the Russians. Polls also indicate that the vast majority (a ratio of two to one) of the American population prefers mutual arms reductions by the United States and the USSR to "star wars." "At a time when the Russians are proposing significant reductions in nuclear arms," the American magazine NEWSWEEK wrote last year, "an already disenchanted public could demand that the next president (which G. Bush was to become—V.Ch.) renounce SDI."

Second, the Americans' faith in Reagan's naive and totally unsubstantiated "dream" of "total protection" of the United States against nuclear missiles by means of SDI—the faith that largely led to the popularity of SDI in the United States in the early years—has evaporated. It has now become clear that in any event the antimissile "umbrella" will have "holes" in it, and in the foreseeable future it can only be a question of creating an ABM system of very limited effectiveness.

The G. Bush administration itself, assessing realistically the scientific and technical difficulties, no longer asserts that SDI offers the hope of creating an absolutely reliable shield against a missile strike. Even that energetic supporter of the program, U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, recently struck a "blow against the dream," as the American press put it, by stating in an interview for the LOS ANGELES TIMES: "Reagan was talking about an impenetrable shield that would not allow a single missile through. I think that sounded fine for a policy statement. But it was an exaggeration of the potential of the strategic defense system."

SDI is now experiencing financial difficulties. The United States, which was once the world's biggest creditor, has now become the biggest debtor: Its national debt now totals $2.6 trillion. In these conditions the American public calls for the limitation of military spending, in order to reduce the state budget deficit. "It is surprising," NEWSWEEK noted on 28 August this year, "how widespread a hostile attitude toward defense is—even among people who call themselves anticommunists."

Support for SDI is steadily declining in Congress. Even Pentagon chief R. Cheney had to admit this. SDI, he recently told journalists, is affected by the general climate in the Congress and the desire to cut the military budget in order to be able to use the resources thus saved for other purposes.

Although more than $11 billion has already been spent on SDI, Congress regularly cuts the Pentagon's financial demands for the program; this has delayed and halted many of its projects. This trend is becoming increasingly established. Before leaving the White House R. Reagan proposed spending $5.9 billion on SDI in fiscal 1990. When he came to power President G. Bush cut this demand to $4.9 billion. Recently the Senate voted to spend around $4 billion on SDI, whereas the House of Representatives was prepared to allocate only around $3.1 billion. If a compromise is reached between these two decisions, the program's budget will be cut compared with expenditure for fiscal 1989 ($4 billion). Both critics and advocates of SDI admit that such a cut would be a political blow to the program and would mean that it is on the way down rather than on the way up.

Supporters of SDI reproach the G. Bush administration for "failing to elaborate a consistent stance in assessing the role of SDI" and the President for "not adopting a tougher position on the budget for this program." Nonetheless there is growing evidence that the program's role in military planning is continuing to decline. There have been definite changes in the approach to SDI within the military-industrial complex itself. U.S. economic difficulties and the "overcrowding" of the military budget essentially leave no room for financing expensive new programs without substantially reducing other items in the Pentagon's military budget. The prospect of allocating enormous sums for SDI at the expense of other programs is causing concern among members of the military-industrial complex. For that very reason, as THE NEW YORK TIMES put it, the space-based ABM system "has lost its special status as the sumptuous diamond in the crown of the administration's military programs."

It was with these results—not very reassuring, to put it mildly, for the supporters of "star wars"—that the

United States went to Wyoming. At the talks in this U.S. state the most unexpected, even stunning thing for certain U.S. circles was the Soviet proposal on ABM and space questions, which paved the way for the achievement and implementation of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments without concluding an agreement on space weapons.

The thing is that at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space armaments the Soviet delegation has always insisted that the two problems, although they are being discussed in two separate groups (one on strategic offensive weapons and the other on ABM and space weapons), are intrinsically linked, and that therefore a treaty on strategic offensive armaments cannot be concluded without an agreement on the second issue. Now the USSR has declared its willingness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive armaments even if by the time it has been fully elaborated an accord has not been reached on the ABM issue. This granted a real opportunity for untying the main knot that is hampering the talks on strategic offensive armaments.

It has to be emphasized straight away that the attitude of the USSR to SDI, which provides for the creation of an ABM system involving the utilization of space weapons, remains negative, and that it insists that the parties to a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms should continue to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. In the Soviet Union's opinion, the document should contain a clause on the right to withdraw from the treaty on strategic offensive arms if one of the sides fails to observe the ABM Treaty. The USSR also has proposed at the talks on nuclear and space weapons that a uniform understanding of what constitutes banned or permitted activity be elaborated. The Soviet side regards as permissible research in space and tests connected with this research. However this does not extend to ABM systems or components, or their space-based prototypes. This is an important concession on our part which will make it possible for the United States, within the framework of a bilateral accord, to conduct certain experiments in space, without however placing weapon prototypes or their elements in near-Earth space.

It must be noted that some people in the United States, and even in our country, at first perceived the proposals set out in Wyoming as a "retreat" on questions of principle by the USSR. However, within a relatively short time, this opinion has radically changed.

In Washington the advocates of SDI and opponents of strategic offensive arms reduction have sounded the alarm. They had found the previous Soviet linkage between strategic offensive arms and space weapons very useful for creating an obstacle at the Geneva talks. They were able to "sleep peacefully," so to speak. However, now this "obstacle" has been dismantled, and what is more, the last artificially created propaganda "argument" in favor of the development and deployment of SDI has been removed, on the admission of the U.S. press.

The point is that certain Americans had lent credence to one of Washington officialdom's myths, namely that SDI could be used as a "bargaining counter" at the talks on strategic offensive arms and that the United States could win concessions from the USSR in exchange for this program. W. Scowcroft, the U.S. president's national security adviser, even hinted that in exchange for concessions on SDI the United States could get the Soviet Union to renounce its SS-18 heavy intercontinental missiles.

Now Washington has grasped that the Soviet Union will make no concessions in exchange for a ban on SDI, and the advocates of the program are complaining: The Soviet Union will simply punish us if we start deploying an ABM system. "We have lost SDI as an argument at the negotiations," L. Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, has declared. "We have invested a lot of money in it, and now we have lost it."

The main conclusion which is currently being drawn from this by U.S. specialists can be summed up as follows: In the event of the creation of SDI, the United States will have acquired a hypothetical defense system against an equally hypothetical threat, while at the same time the danger will arise of the USSR's withdrawal from a future treaty on strategic offensive arms. Can the Congress, under these circumstances, permit billions of dollars to be spent on such a hopeless venture?

Has the "spirit of Wyoming" spread to Geneva? It is difficult to say as yet. On the one hand, you get the impression that the U.S. Administration, having given a positive reception to the Soviet initiative, which has "uncoupled" the talks on strategic offensive arms and space weapons, is determined to move forward in settling this previously insoluble problem. On the other hand, the leadership of the U.S. delegation at the talks continues to lay stress on U.S. unwillingness to include in the future treaty on strategic offensive arms a commitment on the right to withdraw from it should one of the sides violate the ABM Treaty. So the "shadow" of SDI is again hovering over the problem of strategic offensive arms reduction.

U.S. Chemical Weapons Stance Criticized

PM1610140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vladislav Drobkov article under the "View From Moscow" rubric: "Who Leaves Poisons 'in Reserve'"]

[Excerpt] A few weeks ago it seemed that the business of a complete and definite ban on the development, production, and use of chemical and bacteriological

weapons was possibly about to get moving. An unprecedented degree of consensus was achieved at the talks on this problem involving 40 states that have been under way in Geneva for many years. The Soviet Union played a major role in this through its constructive steps. It unilaterally stopped production of chemical munitions, announced the size of its arsenals, showed Western specialists our existing weapons of this type, and showed the installations destroying these weapons at work.

It seemed that both our Western partners at the talks and primarily those who possess or store chemical weapons on their territory are ready for radical steps to rid mankind of the threat of "silent death." An accord was reached at the recent meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Wyoming on a new verification procedure that envisages the possibility of experimental exchange of data on the sides' military-chemical potentials followed by monitoring of this data by means of mutual inspections of the relevant military and civil facilities on their territories. Yet it was questions of monitoring and verification that were the stumbling block at the Geneva talks for a long time. Speaking at the United Nations, U.S. President G. Bush voiced support for immediate actions to "halt and reverse" the chemical threat.

Then last Monday THE WASHINGTON POST published a report saying that the U.S. President has decided "to continue chemical weapons production even after the new universal treaty on their elimination comes into operation." It is now becoming known that this decision was due to pressure on G. Bush from militarist circles in the U.S. Administration striving to prevent a reduction in the program for the production of the latest binary chemical arms.

THE WASHINGTON POST attested that Pentagon representatives favored this decision with particular vigor. They strove to ensure that the United States reserves the possibility of retaining its modernized, even more deadly arsenal, if it withdraws from the convention on the cessation of chemical weapons production, the banning of chemical weapons, and the destruction of chemical weapons stocks.

Yielding to this pressure, the U.S. Administration, the U.S. press warns, intends soon to officially propose the revision of the prepared draft of the convention on the universal and complete banning of chemical weapons. Washington does not like the item in this document which demands the immediate cessation of chemical munitions production following the convention's entry into force.

Thus, the entire convention, on the elaboration of whose text representatives of 40 states have worked virtually for decades, is imperiled. This is only being done to prevent the stoppage of the U.S. operation producing binary weapons composed of two chemical components which are capable, when combined, of becoming an "effective" toxin.

In an attempt to justify the President's decision, a U.S. State Department spokeswoman said that when the convention comes into force the United States is prepared to agree to destroy 98 percent of its chemical weapons stocks over 8 years. While the remaining 2 percent will be destroyed within 2 years only on condition that all states with the potential to create chemical weapons join the convention.

At first glance, the U.S proposal aims to ensure that the United States possesses some "potential for chemical deterrence" to prevent attempts by any countries with the relevant capacities to capture this "poor man's atom bomb" at any moment after the convention's entry into force. But who will guarantee that this "deterrence" will be effective? Is it needed at all? Does the United States, which possesses a gigantic nuclear arsenal and colossal nonnuclear military might, really not have enough systems "for deterrence" apart from binary munitions?

The small quantity of the U.S. chemical arsenal left in reserve cannot be considered harmless. This 2 percent will in fact constitute thousands of tonnes of modernized and extremely lethal toxins along with state-of-the-art delivery vehicles. Their use in response to a real or imaginary threat to the United States may lead to a tragedy on an incomparably larger scale than the carnage around Ypres. Yet other countries, following Washington's example, may wish to keep some quantity of chemical arms, as they say, "in case of dire necessity."

I think that the U.S. Administration has clearly underestimated the possible consequences of its "binary" action, which may torpedo the final elaboration and entry into force of a convention on the universal and complete banning of chemical weapons. Or—which is even more dangerous—they have deliberately decided to put the skids under the bilateral and multilateral accords that have already been secured with such difficulty. At any event the step now being taken in Washington cannot bring mankind closer to eliminating the threat of a repetition of the asphyxiating nightmare of a new Ypres which is looming over it.

Round 12 of Geneva Arms Talks Continues

LD1310202789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Geneva, 13 Oct (TASS)—The latest, 12th, round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, which began 28 September, is continuing.

Primary attention is being devoted now to implementation of the results achieved at the September talks held this year in Wyoming (United States) between minister of foreign affairs E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

The Soviet delegation is continuing explanation of the new approach to solution of ABM and space issues, which was advanced in a message from M.S. Gorbachev to G. Bush and which was examined at the meeting of

the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers in Wyoming. It made specific proposals at the talks, which are directed at agreement upon a joint understanding of activities prohibited and permitted by the ABM Treaty. Those proposals take into account the considerations on this which were expressed earlier by the U.S. side at the talks in Geneva. In accordance with our proposals, research and tests connected with it could be conducted in space, but tests of space-based ABM systems and components would be prohibited.

In connection with a treaty on strategic offensive weapons, there is a discussion of questions concerning limitation, given suitable verification, of long-range sea-based cruise nuclear missiles and likewise of heavy bombers and of long-range air-based cruise missiles. The U.S. side continues to study the new Soviet proposals on this account, which were advancing in Wyoming.

The work on preparation of the texts of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons and of accompanying documents is continuing. The Soviet side has presented at the talks new proposals on provisions of the future treaty which regard, among other things, the order for limiting mobile IBM's, heavy IBM's, and verification.

In accordance with the agreement signed this September by the USSR Foreign Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State, work is being conducted on preparation of sample measures of verification and stability which are to be implemented before the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

U.S. Strategic Arms Programs Criticized

PM1310111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Major General (Retired) B. Surikov: "'Brilliant Pebbles'. The Malevolent Reason Pentagon Strategists Hold Them Close to Their Heart"; Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 October First Edition on page 6 publishes this article with slight variations, which are noted in the text]

[Text] During the first summit between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Geneva the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States stated that "nuclear war should never be unleashed and can never be won."

This fundamental agreement between the two militarily strongest powers paved the way to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is currently being strictly implemented. But this is just the start of nuclear disarmament. Phased cuts in nuclear and space weapons and the destruction of chemical weapons are next....

However, the practical steps taken by the current U.S. Administration give rise to questions about its real intentions as regards the treaty being drawn up in Geneva on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons and the previous agreement on the impossibility of victory in a nuclear war.

G. Bush recently asserted that the time has come to go beyond the framework of the strategy of deterrence and switch to a new policy. But what is actually happening? Recently Washington has been drawing up strategic plans including the delivery of nuclear strikes against Soviet territory. Moreover, new types of arms—both defensive and offensive—are being developed [razrabatyvayutsya] as part of these plans. And it is in this area that the greatest threat to mankind lies.

For instance, Moscow learned with concern of a U.S. press report that the USAF strategic air command is drawing up a new nuclear war plan codenamed SIOP 7.

Judging by the article in a July issue of THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, the aim of the SIOP 7 plan now being honed by the Pentagon is to justify the methods for "decapitating" the Soviet Union's military and political leadership as well as destroying its strategic offensive weapons through the massive use of high-accuracy state-of-the-art nuclear weapons. A new generation of land-, sea-, and air-based strategic offensive systems capable of striking well-protected underground installations with special nuclear warheads is currently under development [sozdayetsya] in the United States.

It is planned to destroy hardened [vysokoprochnyy] targets by using special nuclear warheads which penetrate deep underground before detonating. THE WASHINGTON POST wrote that the new strike weapons system is designed to ensure the preemptive destruction of a large number of silo based ICBM launchers, underground command posts, and bomb shelters.

Moreover, the Tomahawk-class cruise missiles that have come into service on surface ships and submarines since 1984 have substantially expanded the combat potential of U.S. naval forces. Any U.S. surface ship or submarine can now be seen as a potential long-range nuclear cruise missile platform. Their highly accurate targeting (30 meters), considerable nuclear yield (200 kilotons), and long range (2,600 km) make these weapons an extremely dangerous destabilizing force.

The high-level tactical and technical characteristics of Tomahawk-class cruise missiles and their ability to be used in either nuclear or conventional configuration make possible, in the opinion of Soviet military specialists, a sharp reduction in the "nuclear" threshold in a crisis. These weapons could result in an uncontrolled escalation of possible conflicts, turning them from conventional and regional conflicts into nuclear and global conflicts. That is why sea launched cruise missiles [SLCM] should be substantially limited but, through the fault of the United States, this problem has not yet been resolved at the Soviet-U.S. talks.

This July U.S. legislators examined the question of allocating more than $3 billion to develop production of the B-2 strategic stealth bomber. This highly dangerous

program will cost the Americans $70 billion in all. R. Dellums, chairman of the Research and Development Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, noted in a THE WASHINGTON POST article that the U.S. economy, which has suffered from chronic federal budget deficits for a number of years now, is simply incapable of developing [sozdaniye] 132 B-2 bombers.

As has been reported in the foreign press, the Pentagon strategists hope that in response to the B-2 program Moscow will deploy a large number of costly high-potential [vysokopotentsialnyy] ground-based, airborne, and space-based radars, which will substantially undermine the weakened Soviet economy. It must be said that Soviet scientists, designers, and military specialists do see ways of detecting the stealthy B-2.

So the United States hopes in vain that Moscow will try to maintain strategic parity through a symmetrical response—repeating the costly expenditure on armed warfare and deploying an air-defense system to detect stealth aircraft. This was clearly stated recently by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev.

I think that the B-2 strategic stealth bombers, the high-accuracy missile systems equipped with penetrating nuclear warheads, and the long-range SLCM's will be completely useless in the face of relatively cheap stationary or mobile new-generation ICBM's deployed in inland or coastal waters or the high seas. The SIOP 7 operations plan will not work against such retaliatory weapons. However, the development [razrabotka] of new-generation ICBM's undetectable from space is not a path which Moscow intends to follow en route to a nuclear-free world. Rather than developing [sozdavat] destabilizing new strike weapons systems it would be more sensible to gradually abandon existing nuclear arms.

The 12th round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons has begun in Geneva. In the assessment of the head of the Soviet delegation, the texts of the draft agreements on space weapons did not undergo any changes during the previous round. The sides' approaches in this area have continued to be too far removed from each other, and there has been no rapprochement in the Soviet and U.S. positions in this sphere.

Washington, as is well known, is gearing itself to the possible deployment of a wide-ranging ABM system including space-based elements as part of the SDI program. The Soviet Union is insisting that the ABM Treaty be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. And this is entirely understandable, since there are objectively close links between strategic offensive and defensive weapons.

Some 6 years ago the famous physicist Edward Teller, the then director of the Livermore Laboratory, and Lowell Wood, the leader of a research program at this laboratory, convinced R. Reagan that it is possible to deploy space-based elements of an ABM system using nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers. But after a certain time the ideologists behind this highly dangerous and destabilizing concept discovered that the X-rays produced by a nuclear explosion could in no way reach an ICBM that had just been launched. The Pentagon's interest in this and other nontraditional orbital ABM systems also gradually diminished as a result of certain physical limitations that were discovered. However, the U.S. military-industrial complex immediately proposed within the framework of the SDI program a new space-based ABM system using traditional strike means.

G. Bush has repeatedly advocated the continuation of the SDI program. Speaking at Texas A&M University this May, he stated, in particular: "Our aim at the talks on space arms will be to retain the option to deploy a modern defense system once it is ready."

This spring the U.S. President gave the go-ahead to new "star wars" weapons, on which the Livermore Laboratory has begun accelerated development [razrabatyvat]. These are light antimissile missiles equipped with heat-seeking warheads. It is planned to deploy large numbers of them in space.

In order to demonstrate the possibility of developing [sozdaniye] such weapons, L. Wood, the director of the research program, even started towing a laboratory mockup of a small antimissile missile on his trailer. He called his antimissile missile "Brilliant Pebbles."

The developers of this unique space-based weapon claim that it will detect a strategic missile at a range of 2,000 miles and effectively engage it by hitting the target airframe and detonating a small charge.

In proposing this version of an ABM system, L. Wood and his colleagues from the Livermore Laboratory evidently have no clear idea of the real physical conditions under which Brilliant Pebbles would have to operate.

The reality is that there are around 17,000 large, medium, and small craft in orbit at altitudes of between 150 and 2,000 km. And the pollution of space continues. New satellites, the latest launcher stages, and discarded spacecraft cowlings are appearing in space faster than the old ones are being burned up. The Brilliant Pebbles sensors will inevitably react to such thermal disturbances and generate numerous rogue signals indicating a missile attack on the United States which, in a crisis, could lead to an "accidental" nuclear war.

One more unsolved problem is to ensure that each antimissile missile homes in accurately during a mass launch of ICBM's. The crux of the problem is that the thermal emissions from the engines of the many antimissile missiles themselves will make it harder for their own sensors to work properly, which rules out the possibility of accurate Brilliant Pebbles guidance.

In the opinion of Soviet scientists and military specialists, the space-based elements of an ABM system using Brilliant Pebbles will also be unable to intercept strategic

missiles with a short boost phase restricted to an altitude of 100 km, because the antimissile missiles' heat-seeking warheads will react to the incident airflow [budut nagrevatsya nabegayushchim potokom vozdukha], which will make it harder for them to function properly.

According to figures from the USSR Defense Ministry, the Soviet Union currently has 2,494 strategic offensive weapons units and 10,000 nuclear warheads for them. Correspondingly, the United States has 2,260 strategic launch vehicles and 14-16,000 nuclear warheads. In accordance with the agreement reached at the summit, the treaty being drawn up in Geneva on 50-percent strategic offensive weapons cuts should reduce each side's strategic forces to 1,600 launch vehicles and 6,000 nuclear warheads (not including SLCM's).

Given the senselessness of the nuclear and space arms race, the huge interest that the international community is showing in the Geneva talks is understandable. Unfortunately, through the fault of the current U.S. Administration, the 11th round of talks produced nothing tangible. You got the impression that the United States is prepared to further satisfy the [PRAVDA First Edition version adds: "incredible"] demands of the military-industrial complex, which has a vested interest in implementing the "star wars" and stealth bomber programs and in supplying the Navy with nuclear SLCM's. [PRAVDA First Edition adjusts the phrasing of the preceding sentence to read: "...programs and in providing unlimited supplies of nuclear SLCM's to the Navy," and supplies the following passage in place of the Second Edition's final two paragraphs:

"The question arises: Is there a direct connection between the development [razrabotka] in the United States of the SIOP 7 operations plan geared to inflicting a decapitating strike on the Soviet Union, and G. Bush's views on the possibility of winning a nuclear war, which he expressed in an interview with the journalist R. Shira [surname as transliterated] during the 1980 election campaign?

"This interview could have been forgotten had it not been for the lack of a constructive position from the U.S. Administration at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. I think that the progress at the Geneva talks will be the best explanation of the U.S. President's position as regards the permissibility or impermissibility of nuclear war."]

Nonetheless, we would like to hope that at the current round in Geneva the U.S. side will take a more realistic approach to the problem of nuclear and space arms. The basis for this emerged following the recent talks between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Wyoming, where this problem was discussed in detail. It was decided that new instructions would be issued to the delegations in Geneva taking into account the exchange of opinions in Wyoming.

We will essentially be able to gauge the current U.S. Administration's position on the permissibility or impermissibility of nuclear war from the extent to which our partner acts constructively at the Geneva talks.

Nevada-Semipalatinsk Body Protests Nuclear Test

LD1610134989 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Alma-Ata October 16 TASS—A nuclear test at the Semipalatinsk testing ground [illegible]ly in October, prompted new protest actions by the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement.

Its chairman Olzhas Suleymenov, Soviet legislator, sent telegrams on October 10 to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov and U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney expressing concern and calling for resolute steps towards overcoming nuclear confrontation of super powers.

The telegrams point out that a joint moratorium on nuclear tests is necessary to save mankind.

The semipalatinsk regional party committee and the regional Soviet of People's Deputies (council) insist on the closure of the testing ground. The government of the Kazakh Republic received a similar demand from the working committee of the Karaganda coal basin.

TASS Reports Gerasimov News Briefing 16 Oct

Arms Supply to Nicaragua

LD1610151189 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today expressed bewilderment at a Pentagon spokesman's claims of continued Soviet supervision of arms shipment to Nicaragua.

He told a news briefing here these allegations are especially surprising after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's recent visit to Nicaragua and his Wyoming talks with U.S. secretary of state, during which the United States was advised of the Soviet decision, taken by agreement with Nicaragua's leadership, to suspend supplies of weapons to that country.

U.S. representatives at the time reacted positively to the information, the Soviet spokesman noted.

He said the latest, different interpretation of the Soviet move aims to question the integrity of the Soviet stand on a Central American settlement and, in a way, to cast doubts even on Soviet-U.S. dialogue on a wide range of international problems, marked by ever great trust and a constructive spirit.

"I believe it essential to declare with utter responsibility once again that faithful to our word, we have halted arms supplies to Nicaragua. A similar position was also expressed by Cuban leaders during the Soviet foreign minister's brief working visit to Cuba," the spokesman said.

Egyptian-Libyan Summit

LD1610151689 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today hailed the news of a Egyptian-Libyan summit meeting.

He told a news briefing here that the Soviet Union supports any positive steps by Arab states to open constructive dialogue and overcome disagreements.

Welcoming the meeting between the leaders of the two neighbouring Arab nations, the Soviet Union hopes that it is another important step to normal relations and closer cooperation between Tripoli and Cairo and will favourably influence the general situation in the region, Gerasimov said.

This is all the more satisfying as the USSR is bound by long-standing friendship and a good relationship of cooperation with both Libya and Egypt, he added.

ANC Members' Release From Jail

LD1610155189 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—The South African Government's decision to release from prison Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, a number of other members of ANC, and Oscar Pmetha, president of the United Democratic Front, was positively received in the Soviet Union, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said it is apparent that the decision was made under the pressure of the continued struggle of South Africa's democratic forces against apartheid. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of political prisoners, among them prominent anti-apartheid fighter Nelson Mandela, are still kept in South African jails.

Reprisals continue in South Africa. The state of emergency has not been abrogated. The ban and the restrictions on the activity of democratic organisations have not been lifted. other lawful demands of the ANC remain unanswered, the spokesman said.

If the new South African leadership wishes to gain confidence, it should take additional steps towards creating a climate favouring dialogue with leaders of ANC and other democratic organisations. This would show the world that it is firmly on the road to dismantling apartheid, the Foreign Ministry Spokesman said.

Gorbachev-'Arafat Meeting

LD1610142989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev actually did meet and talk with Yasir 'Arafat during his recent visit to Berlin, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information directorate, stated at a briefing here today.

He made this statement in connection with a denial that the meeting took place, which was published by the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD (Abu-Dhabi), citing a USSR foreign Ministry spokesman here.

Zayd abu'Amarah, the PLO temporary charge d'affaires in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov stated, was yesterday handed photographs taken during the Berlin meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Yasir 'Arafat. Arab journalists were present when the photographs were handed over.

Gorbachev Visit to Italy

LD1610144489 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—A group of high-ranking officials in the Italian Foreign Ministry, led by Enzo Perlot, visited Moscow to prepare for Mikhail

Gorbachev's state visit to Italy, scheduled for late November-early December this year, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said that parties to the talks in Moscow assessed the progress in the drafting of about twenty intergovernmental agreements to be signed during the visit.

The agreements aim to deepen and specify Soviet-Italian cooperation in the economic, financial, scientific, technical and cultural spheres.

The parties also discussed the outline of a joint political statement which would be adopted on the results of the Soviet leader's visit to Italy.

Gerasimov said that a group on regional issues began work, as the Soviet and Italian foreign ministers agreed in New York.

The heads of corresponding units in the Italian and Soviet Foreign Ministries discussed problems in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cambodia and several African issues.

Talks were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's consular directorate to draft a visa agreement that would envisage a reciprocal simplification of the procedure for the issuance of entry visas, applicable to various categories of citizens in the two states.

An inter-governmental agreement on this subject is also to be signed during Gorbachev's visit to Italy.

Commenting on Perlot's conversation with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, the Ministry spokesman said that both sides attached special importance to the forthcoming visit.

Arrest of Raul Wallenberg Called 'Tragic Mistake'

LD1610161989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1502 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—The arrest of Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg in Budapest in 1945 by the Soviet military authorities is described in the USSR as a "tragic mistake" which "one has not managed to rectify". This was declared today at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center. Raul Wallenberg died in the Lubyanka prison in 1947. His death is an indisputable fact, it was said during the meeting which took place today in Moscow between Deputy USSR Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov, and Vladimir Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, with the leadership of the Swedish "Raul Wallenberg Society" and his relatives. The latter arrived in Moscow yesterday. Among those who came are Per Anger, chairman of the society, Nina Lagergren, and Guy von Dardel, the half-sister and half-brother of Raul Wallenberg, and also Sonya Sonnenfeldt, the society's secretary.

The Swedish interlocutors were given some documents and personal effects of Wallenberg which were discovered in Soviet archives as a result of painstaking checking. The sole document relating to the given case which has been preserved in the country's archives is a note by A. Smoltsov, head of the health and hygiene service of the Lubyanka prison, which notes the death of the Swedish diplomat in July 1947. The members of Raul Wallenberg's family and the leadership of the society were shown the original of the document and given a copy of it.

Nikolay Uspenskiy, head of the Second European Department of the Ministry, also spoke today at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center. People in the USSR, he said, the noble activity evaluate highly of Raul Wallenberg and attach great importance to bringing final clarity to this issue, "which for to long has been exciting public opinion in many countries, including the Soviet Union".

The Soviet side does not possess any information on the whereabouts of the remains of Raul Wallenberg. "The only fact on which we are relying," stated the Foreign Ministry's representative, "says that in practice one must give up hope that Wallenberg is alive or was alive after 1947. His death has now been established in documentary form—by the document which was shown to the relatives'. Moreover, A. Smoltsov, head of the health and hygiene service of the Lubyanka prison, died in May 1953, "so it is impossible to ask him anything more".

Nikolay Uspenskiy expressed the hope that the meeting which was conducted today in Moscow has brought about a general understanding of the facts with regard to the issue of the tragic destiny of Raul Wallenberg.

Further on Lobov's Work at NATO Assembly

Interviewed on Events

LD1510221389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Yuriy Vybornov video report from Rome, including interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, date not given—from the "International Panorama" program]

[Text] [Vybornov, identified by caption] This is the Chigi Palace, the residence of the head of government. Beyond it, somewhat taller and with the tower, is another palace, Monte Citorio, the chamber of deputies of the Italian parliament. In front of it is a square which is normally packed solid with cars belonging to deputies and parliamentary staff. But for several days the Monte Citorio square was unusually quiet. Only around its perimeter police patrol cars were spread out as if at a motor show. This type of security measure is taken here only in exceptional cases. On this occasion, it was such a case. The palace was taken over by legislators from Western European states, the United States and Canada.

NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner also arrived here. There were no excesses or incidents recorded, and the guards had a reason to smile. For them the most pleasant event is when nothing happens. [video shows square, buildings, police cars, smiling policemen]

The subject of the session can concisely be expressed in one sentence: What should the Atlantic policy be like in the new conditions? New conditions also mean hitherto unseen realities. During the days preceding the session, commissions were at work in various Monte Citorio rooms and halls. In one of these, two military men spoke on defense and security issues. If the appearance of the U.S. General John Galvin, Commander in Chief of the NATO forces in Europe, was natural, the presence at the same table of Army General Lobov, chief of staff of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states, was a sensation even by today's standards; formerly it would have been an inconveivable anomaly. Naturally, dialogue between generals is not yet a guarantee of universal security, but of course it is a step toward it.

The parliamentarians had a great many questions, mainly for Lobov. The simultaneous Russian-language interpreters were kept busy. All kinds of topics were raised: The Vienna talks, conversion of military industries, arms control, and issues of scientific and technical cooperation. [video shows audience in a chamber; the two generals, among other people, on the the platform]

In the course of the assembly's work, where the voguest word was probably: Cooperation; I happen to have heard the following arguement: Without NATO there would have been no perestroyka. I will not comment on these words. Perhaps, having thanked NATO for its contribution to the joint stock of the arms race and mutual threats, we could express the hope that in the new conditions the Atlantic union will manifest a new approach toward its unexpected newly embraced child and, as a sign of love, will contribute to the development of perestroyka, to the process of perestroyka, or at the very least will not hamper it. But matters are not as simple as that. For instance, the Coordinating Committee for Export Controls, COCOM, bans the shipping to the East of hundreds of varieties of goods and technologies on the pretext of their dual purpose: Military and civilian. You can see for yourselves that if you want to, you can place a great deal in that category: Equally a computer, a tractor, and a ball-bearing. [video shows reporter to camera] Manfred Woerner, the guest of honor, addressed the particpants in the session and also used the world cooperation. But his principles, based on a great many linkages and conditions, so far appear to be remote from realism and are reminiscent of attempted diktat. [video shows woerner at lecturn]

But here, by the way, is Gen Lobov's opinion on this and other issues. We met him in the course of the work of the North Atlantic assembly.

We talk a lot about detente taking place, about a certain amount of convergence of positions, especially political, taking place between East and West. To what extent does that apply to the military field?

[Army Gen V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states, identified caption] Here we've had the first contact between military organizations, the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact. This was the first time there's been this kind of official meeting at such a—I'd even say high—level. Naturally this helps, equally, our side and the military side of the NATO bloc to make out the situation that has formed, and for their part to do everything possible to promote the policy of detente and the policy of security.

[Vybornov] How do you appraise the NATO position?

[Lobov] Well, one cannot unequivocally approach the event that's taking place here. Naturally there are many contradictions. The majority of members of the delegations attending this assembly speak favorably about the Soviet Union, about perestroyka, they say they support it. But to my great regret there are also hawks here, including Woerner who is, one could even say, concentrated hawkishness.

[Vybornov] In your opinion, are there any realistic prospects, any kind of platform for further positive steps precisely in the military area?

[Lobov] Indeed, such a realistic possibility exists. I am not even referring to the political elements in the organizations of the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact, here such points of contact are already eviden', they exist, but along the military line we have also heard that, for instance, in Gen Galvin's report he spoke in favor of establishing closer contacts between the military and the Warsaw Pact and the NATO bloc, and he even hinted that he wouldn't mind visiting the Soviet Union. The leadership of the assembly also spoke in favor of this, that if there were such an invitation, the states would not object to his visiting the Soviet Union. [video shows the reporter interviewing Lobov in civilian dress]

[Vybornov] Naturally the strong ice of military confrontation between the blocks, which for many years held the world in its grip, is not going to melt all at once. But the fact that there already is dialogue, in which despite the past, objective discussion can be held without the participants speaking completely different languages, is undoubtedly a step forward. [video shows assembly chamber]

More Questions Answered

PM1610141389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces: "Yesterday This Would Have Been Inconceivable" —date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, who has just taken

part in the work of the North Atlantic Assembly, answers questions put by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

[Question] The participation of the chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in the work of the North Atlantic Assembly is an unprecedented event. What is the explanation for it?

[Answer] It is above all the beneficial influence exerted on international affairs by the process of profound reforms in the economic, political, and other spheres which is currently under way in the socialist community. The flexibility and dynamism of the foreign policy activities of the allied states, and the increasing openness and glasnost in their military activities, where the coalition's defensive military doctrine is increasingly being implemented, have become a catalyst, as it were, of the favorable changes in East-West relations.

This in turn has helped the peoples in these parts of Europe to rid themselves of many dogmas and stereotypes in their mutual perception of each other. This is of particular importance when it comes to joint action in safeguarding Europe's peaceful future.

This is the context in which I view my participation in the work of the North Atlantic Assembly. On the one hand, this circumstance reflects the West's growing interest in the policy and concrete actions of the socialist countries and a desire to be able to form a fuller and more accurate picture of them. On the other hand, it reflects one of the most important realities of the present-day world, the need and possibility jointly to transform the planet into a peaceful common home.

[Question] Is it possible in principle that a NATO representative will be invited to take part in the work of one of the organs of the Warsaw Pact?

[Answer] I do not completely rule out such a possibility. Although, naturally, I cannot say accurately when this will happen and which organ it might be.

[Question] It is not just in East-West relations that changes are taking place. Very tangible changes are under way in Eastern Europe. Could this affect the nature of such a military-political alliance as the Warsaw Pact?

[Answer] I would like to emphasize once again the importance of the transformations which are under way in the allied states. They are geared to improving and renewing socialist society. Naturally, possible changes in the nature and activities of the Warsaw Pact are directly connected with this.

I would like to note that the countries of the community concur that the Warsaw Pact is an important factor in ensuring their security as well as ensuring peace and stability in Europe and throughout the world. They are also united by their desire to act in the interests of socialism and improved cooperation in all spheres. Live is moving forward and our military-political alliance must move forward with it.

In this context the decision to continue efforts with a view to strenthening the politcal nature of the Warsaw Pact and improving the mechanism of cooperation within its framework on a democratic basis, which was adopted at the Bucharest (1989) conference of the Political Consultative Committee, is of great importance.

[Question] There is talk now about the politicization of the Warsaw Pact, about the need to improve its political mechanism. What concrete shape could the prepared reform take?

[Answer] In my opinion, the solution of the following tasks must be assured. First, intensification of the foreign policy cooperation between Warsaw Pact member states and stepped up actions in the spirit of the new thinking. Second, broadened discussion in various forms of problems pertaining to the internal development of socialist countries (provided, that a specific country deems it necessary to inform another country about this.) Third, the harmonious integration of socialist countries in the world system of economic contacts and interrelations.

The solution of these and other tasks is to be facilitated by the improvement of existing Warsaw Pact political structures and the creation of new ones. Time will tell what shape they will take. And I hope that this will happen in the not too distant future.

[Question] In the course of any change, unforeseeable problems may crop up. Could they not affect the security of our alliance?

[Answer] I hope not. The security of individual Warsaw Pact member states and of our community as a whole is so important a question that it cannot be disregarded in the process of reforms. After all, the whole purpose of these reforms is to ensure even better security and reliable defense against possible aggression for the peoples of our alliance.

Gorbachev Greets International Forum in Italy

LD1410170789 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Mosocw October 14 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev today sent a message of greetings to a major international forum on topical political and economic problems, which opens in the Italian town of Rimini on Sunday.

The Soviet leader stressed that "the future of civilisation depends on whether responsible representatives of various nations and states will be able already now to start joint discussion and interaction in solving universal human problems."

Gorbachev expressed the conviction that today "the world community is capable of entering a new peaceful

period of its development, to react adequately to the challenges of time—to remove the threat of nuclear war, to overcome underdevelopment and poverty, to cope with ecological and other crises, to foster new economic and intellectual links on the basis of a new balance of interests and freedom of choice."

He wished the participants in the conference success in bringing closer together the positions of the West and the East, the North and South on improving people's life.

CEMA-EEC Talks Called 'Successful,' 'Useful'

LD1610164489 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

The international conference to develop cooperation between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC), recently held in the Soviet capital, has surpassed all expectations.

As many as 175 delegates from CMEA countries and the European communities came to the forum. It was also attended by representatives of the Secretariat of the European Free Trade Association, from countries affiliated to that organisation, by leaders of the U.N. European Economic Commission, publishers and newsmen, and even businessmen from Japan.

Having attended the conference, I can confidently say that it was successful not only from the organisational point of view. The important point is that it assumed a distinctly scientific and technological character. The forum's three subject panels discussed the most diverse aspects of interaction between the CMEA and the EEC, and this was very useful. Representatives of CMEA and EEC countries have admitted after the conference that it helped them to get to understand each other better.

The debates were marked by a spirit of constructiveness and frankness. This is quite natural, if we bear in mind the present state of relations between the CMEA and the EEC, that both groupings are living through a period of radical reforms aimed in both cases at going over to a new stage of integration. The EEC plans to establish a single internal market by the end of 1992 and CMEA—to go over to a new socialist division of labour, to develop commodity-money relations and create a joint socialist market, to promote openness towards the Western world. In a word, both groupings are tackling similar integrational problems although the progress they have made in this direction is not identical.

I wish to note particularly that the Moscow meeting and the frankness displayed by its participants were made possible by the new world political climate created by the reforms in the USSR and in other socialist countries. It is important that the conference participants were fully aware that the contemporary world is interdependent and that this interdependence will grow as the "common European home" goes up on an equitable foundation.

It is fair to say that the main task of the conference, that is to evaluate the dynamics and map out prospects for CMEA-EEC cooperation, has been fulfilled. This is important, because it shows that a frank discussion of different viewpoints contributes to the adoption of agreed decisions at official CMEA-EEC negotiations.

I shall mention only one of the key conclusions drawn by the conference, because I think it is most important. Relations between CMEA and EEC must be actively promoted. The necessary conditions have been created for this, including a legal foundation. European prosperity depends on cooperation between East and West Europe. Cooperation could be started in Areas of universal importance, for instance, in environmental protection, transport services, energetics, etc.

The Council of Economic Mutual Assistance and the European Economic Community should supplement not substitute each other, should draw the European Free Trade Association, other international organisations and individual European states into the orbit of their cooperation.

It is particularly gratifying that the sides have agreed to continue their dialogue. Hopes are rising that the process of normalizing CMEA-EEC relations will finally make headway and become irreversible.

Drive Launched To Gain Membership in GATT

LD1610165289 Hamburg DPA in German 1620 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Malente (DPA)—The USSR is planning a new drive to gain membership of the international customs and trade agreement, GATT. This was reported at the Draeger Symposium in Malente today by Prof Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Foreign Economic Commission.

The application for membership of GATT is to be prepared by initiating informal contacts. The Soviet Union made an unsucessful attempt in this direction in 1982.

United States & Canada

U.S. Detains, Releases Soviet Officers in FRG

LD1610171389 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Two Soviet Army officers were detained by American military police for identity checks in West Berlin on October 14 at about 6 P.M. local time.

They were brought to the U.S. military commandant's office where they were accused of illegitimate activities, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

"Having no evidence to corroborate the charges, the Americans released the Soviet officers," he said. "The Americans said that they had nothing against the officers and would like to see the incident closed."

Representatives of the Berlin-based Soviet Embassy lodged a verbal protest, Gerasimov said.

U.S. Army Chief Sees Panama as 'Testing Range'

90UM0030A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by Grigoriy Oganov, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA political columnist: "Panama Is Our Testing Range"]

[Text] A very remarkable statement was heard recently in Washington when none other than the chief of staff of the U.S. Army commented in a distinctive way, mildly speaking, on proposals concerning a reduction in "conventional" weapons that was put forth by the Soviet Union. These proposals, incidentally, were received very favorably by the general public, and also by prominent politicians in the United States, but it seems that General Carl Vuono sees an insidious plot of a directly opposite nature. Thus, one hears the cry that is well-known in classical literature: "You are out of step, out of step!..."

Excessively vigilant and very suspicious, the general, speaking before members of the U.S. National Association of Industrialists, gave his interpretation of these proposals: "The Soviet Union, in my opinion, selected the kind of course that will make it possible for it to attain its intended objective in future years. As a result, the Soviet Union will constitute a stronger military power in the future than it is now."

Absolutely in the spirit of the times, which compelled even the "brass hat" Pentagon generals to learn the lexicon of the epoch of general relaxation in the international situation, the general in the capital announced to the members of the association that he "greets the proposals on unilateral reduction by the Soviet Union in its conventional armed forces," but...and this "but" contains a fairly large supply of handy doubts and misgivings of a certain "risk" which the North Atlantic organization is apparently compelled to run either out of folly or for the sake of demonstrating its exceptional loyalty, thereby taking a "false step."

The general, apparently very disturbed, further added that "it is necessary for those who are responsible for the defense of the country to pay attention to real capability, and not to intentions." And here he formulated three obligatory conditions that the military capability of the United States must meet: It must be: a) flexible, b) efficient, and c) lend itself to easy deployment.

By observing these requirements, the chief of staff of the U.S. Army believes the American Armed Forces will be able to counter Soviet "adoption" of the U.S. doctrine of qualitative superiority of troops and weapons (which, it must be assumed, is not very good from their standpoint) by creating "better trained, more compact, and more powerful armed forces." For it was not long ago, complains the general, that the United States and its allies possessed precisely such qualitative superiority for several decades.

However, we will return to the requirements advanced by General Vuono that were supposed to save the situation. The first of them is the flexibility of the U.S. Armed Forces. To ensure this flexibility, they must be modified depending on the nature of the future hypothetical conflict. And here, it seems, there are examples that one can add to one's armory. And specifically, General Vuono declared, is the "deployment of a combination of heavy and light forces in...Panama this year that would fully respond to such requirements."

Thus, the chief of staff of the U.S. Army publicly admitted that Panama is not only a longed-for objective of imperialism owing to the geographical importance of the republic as a territory on which the strategically extremely important Panama Canal is located, but it is also a unique testing range for the American military establishment. And apparently they are testing more than just a "new labor organization" here.

No, they are running tests here of an entirely different kind, the kind that are "more appropriate" for Latin America, but, more correctly, that are more appropriate for the powerful northern neighbor. What is considered "appropriate" here for local conditions is a military coup. That is what happened last Tuesday: A group of Panamanian officers attempted a military coup and spread a statement in the country about the removal of General Manuel Noriega, the commander in chief of the National Defense Forces.

But the coup participants miscalculated this time. A fierce exchange of fire in the center of the capital lasting about 5 hours ended with the arrest of the ringleader of those involved in the coup. Their troops, as is known, were forced to lay down their arms, and two of the leaders of the unsuccessful coup found refuge on the territory of the U.S. military base at Fort Clayton in the Canal Zone. They thereby found direct communication

with the U.S. military leaders, who have been trying for a long time to smash the Panamanians and eliminate the regime that has been set up there.

The unsuccessful coup attempt, however, did not completely cut short the Pentagon's machinations. The U.S. Armed Forces billeted in the Panama Canal Zone were brought to a state of combat readiness.

According to a declaration by President Bush, "for now the situation in the Panamanian capital is being studied." For now it is being studied....

Bush Statement on Military Force, Panama Noted

LD1410023489 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The United States President George Bush says he does not rule out the use of military force against Panama. President Bush told a news conference in the White House on Friday that the United States would continue to press for the resignation of the Commander in Chief of the Panamanian National Defense Force General Noriega.

House Approves Bill on U.S. Intelligence Services

LD1510093989 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov:

The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress passed by 369 votes against 31 a bill on appropriations for U.S. intelligence services in the current fiscal year. Although the total sum of allocation is not disclosed, the American press puts the figure at more than 25 billion dollars.

The considerable part of these funds, used to maintain secret services, to purchase technology and to finance secret operations abroad, is hidden in various programmes of the Pentagon, the news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS reports.

In addition to funding issues, the bill also contains several provisions which give the Congress more control over the Central Intelligence Agency. For example, one of the provisions enables the Senate and House committees on intelligence to demand the list of all investigations and inspections carried out by the CIA general inspector, as well as any CIA report.

The Bush administration regards this provision as unconstitutional interference in its activity, which can jeopardize the confidentiality of CIA investigations. Official representatives of the administration believe that the President would veto the bill if this demand remains on it.

Other provisions of the bill include an amendment which hinders rendering clandestine aid by the U.S. Administration to the opposition forces in Nicaragua. In particular, it states that the CIA cannot provide financial aid to political opposition in that country through its channels unless it obtains preliminary permission from the committees on intelligence and appropriations of both chambers.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is currently working on its version of the appropriations bill to finance the activity of U.S. intelligence services. According to press reports, it will include a provision on changing the status of the CIA general inspector so that his functions would be more similar to those of independent inspectors at other federal agencies. In particular, there are plans for a candidate to this post to be endorsed by the Senate. It is expected that this variant will be submitted to the full Senate next week. After that the two variants will be sent to the conference commission which will work out a compromise bill which will be submitted to President Bush.

China

PRC's Ni-Led Trade Union Delegation Pays Visit

Reflection of 'Normalization' Process

OW1210193789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, a Chinese trade union delegation led by Ni Zhifu, member of the Central Committee of the CPC and chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, is to visit the USSR starting on Thursday, 5 October. Our station observer (Tinikliyev) writes:

Contacts between the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the All-China Federation of Trades Unions are now frequent, which reflects the process of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. This process is propelling Soviet-Chinese cooperation in all fields of endeavor. Certainly, this first visit to our country by the chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in many years will open a new chapter in the annals of friendship of the two trade union organizations of the two countries. This assessment is based on bilateral cooperation between the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in the past few years.

During a conversation with me, Comrade (Chalikov), head of the International Liaison Department under the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, mentioned some facts about the cooperation.

He said: In 1985, the biggest mass organizations of the working people of the Soviet Union and China resumed their relations, which had been suspended for many years. Much work has been done since. The trade unions' academic organizations and labor insurance research institutes have cooperated, with good results, and Chinese building workers have taken part in building

workers' sanatoriums in the border areas of Khabarovsk in the Soviet Far East. [passage omitted]

(Chalikov) said: We hope that this visit by the Chinese trade union delegation will be an important milestone in the development of full cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese trade unions and will promote friendship and mutual understanding between the working peoples of the two countries.

2-Day Stay in Kiev

LD0910143789 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Kiev October 9 TASS—A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) led by its chairman Ni Zhifu was on a two-day visit to Kiev.

At the Ukrainian republic's Council of Trade Unions, the guests had a meeting with Council Chairman Vitaliy Sologub. He described the main directions of perestroika in the republican trade unions, their role in the protection of working people's rights and in the settlement of important production issues.

Delegation members were interested in the operation of Soviet enterprises under the conditions of cost-accounting, self-financing and self-rule and the role of councils of work collectives.

The head of the delegation said that during the talks and meetings in Moscow and Kiev, they received useful information which will help Chinese trade unionists in their activities.

Chinese union activists attach much importance to sharing experience with Soviet counterparts, he went on to say. The trip has convinced delegation members that the normalisation of Chinese-Soviet inter-state relations and of contacts between the Chinese and the Soviet Communist Parties greatly influences the successful development of trade union relations, Ni pointed out.

Yakovlev-Ni Meeting

LD1110213689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 MT 11 Oct 89

[Text] A meeting took place today between Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ni Zhifu, member of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the All- China Federation of Trade Unions, who is heading a delegation of that organization which is in the USSR at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. During their conversation Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev and Ni Zhifu exchanged information on the political and economic situation in the USSR and China as well as on the activity of the two countries' trade unions. Both sides stressed the significance of the further development of Soviet-Chinese ties through trade unions.

Shalayav, Ni Zhifu on Visit

LD1210224889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct (TASS)—The first official friendly visit to the USSR by a delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, headed by Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, has finished. The delegation was in the USSR at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] from 5-12 October. During their stay in the Soviet Union the Chinese guests visited Leningrad and Kiev as well as Moscow, spent some time at industrial enterprises and familiarized themselves with the activities of trade union organizations and the enhancement of their role in the resolution of social issues.

The visit of the Chinese delegation took place in a frank and friendly setting, AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Shalayev declared when he spoke at a meeting between the PRC guests and the trade union aktiv of Moscow. We have not only exchanged very useful information, he pointed out, but we have also agreed to increase efforts on both sides to intensify cooperation and to study one another's experience of work under the conditions of the radical political and economic reforms being carried out in the USSR and the PRC.

The stay of the delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in the USSR, AUCCTU Deputy Chairman Gennadiy Yanayev said, is taking place at an important time. Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to China and the talks and conversations with Chinese leaders have opened up a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations, including trade union relations. The first meeting in the last 25 years between the leaders of Chinese and Soviet trade unions is another confirmation of the normalization in interstate relations. As a result of the talks between the AUCCTU and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, on many issues of trade union cooperation the positions of the two sides coincided or were very close, he stressed.

We have gladly ascertained, Ni Zhifu noted in his speech, that relations between the trade unions of the USSR and the PRC are gaining a powerful impetus for development. Together with the AUCCTU we will apply further efforts for the activization of trade union contacts, to which the All-China Federation of Trade Unions attaches great significance at present.

Delegation's Moscow Meeting

LD1410103189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0808 GMT 14 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting has been held in Moscow betwen the capital's trade union aktiv and a delegation of the All-Chinese Federation of Trade Unions. This is the first visit to the USSR by such a delegation for 25 years.

Participants in the meeting noted that the process of renewal in the Peoples Republic of China [PRC] and the USSR has much in common and a broad field of cooperation has been opened up before the Chinese and Soviet trade unions which can contribute to the development of the two countries, filling it with a concrete content.

On behalf of the PRC working class the head of the delegation conveyed many greetings and the feeling of great respect towards Soviet workers. [video shows meeting in progress]

USSR Reportedly China's Fifth Largest Trader

OW1510123089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 23 Sep 89

[(Ivashura) commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] According to a report by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Soviet Union has become China's fifth largest trade partner, and during the 1980's the volume of Soviet-Chinese trade has increased ninefold. In this regard, a senior research fellow of the ministry's Market Research Institute, (Ivashura), has made the following comments:

The volume of Soviet-Chinese trade this year has exceeded 2 billion rubles. Is this a large or a small amount? If we compare it with the 177 million rubles registered in 1981, we will see that the growth rate is remarkably high. In spite of this high growth rate, however, the potential for expansion of trade between the two countries is far from being fully tapped.

Of the Soviet exports to China, 40 percent are products of the machine-building industry, such as complete sets of equipment for thermal power plants, metal smelters, and hemp textile mills, machine tools for various purposes, and means of transportation, including aircraft, electric locomotives, and automobiles. Incidentally, I would like to mention here that Soviet automobiles are well received in China. Soviet-made automobiles, though not as comfortable as their Western and Japanese counterparts, are tough and are not so fastidious about road conditions. For this reason, they are gradually building up a market in China. The past few years have seen 100,000 Soviet automobiles exported to China. Now, more and more orders for automobiles are received from the Chinese side, creating the need for establishing technical service stations in China. So far, over two dozen technical service stations have been set up in various parts of China.

This year a contract for supplying combines made in Krasnoyarsk was signed with China. These combines will be supplied to China's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and 100 of them are expected to be delivered by the end of this year.

Household necessities provided to China include refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, electric heaters, cameras, watches, and pianos.

The Soviet Union imports from China farm produce, [words indistinct], textiles, fabrics, and certain kinds of industrial raw materials and technologies.

I wish to point out that Soviet-Chinese trade is not limited to transactions based on agreements signed between the two governments. After a long period of suspension, border trade resumed in 1983 between the two countries. The border trade areas on the Soviet side include the Far East and Central Asia regions. The Chinese border trade areas are northeastern provinces, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang. This year border trade accounts for about 6 percent of the total trade volume between the two countries.

In recent years, the Soviet Union and China have made positive efforts to explore new ways to conduct cooperation. This year more enterprises of the two countries have forged direct links without going through foreign trade organizations. Meanwhile, joint ventures are being established.

A big railway project linking China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region with Kazakhstan of the Soviet Union is under construction. The Soviet Union has provided China with a long-term loan for this project.

Chinese Premier Li Peng said on his recent inspection tour of northeast China that there is a broad prospect for Sino-Soviet economic cooperation following the normalization of the relations between the two countries. In a speech delivered on the tour, the Chinese leader called on the local leadership to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union on a long-term basis.

Li Peng Explains PRC Events to Ghana's Obeng

PM1310101189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Li Peng on Events in China"]

[Text] The political situation in China is stable, and the country's economy is gradually overcoming its temporary difficulties. This was stated by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council at a meeting with Paul Victor Obeng, member of the Ghanaian Provisional National Defense Council and chairman of the Secretaries' Committee, who arrived on a visit to Beijing Tuesday.

The Chinese leader stressed that the attempts by certain foreign figures to exert pressure on China through economic sanctions and to force it to change its course have been fruitless. The current streamlining of the national economy will make it possible to create more favorable conditions for the subsequent development and further galvanization of the policy of opening to the outside world.

Touching on the African guest's request on the subject of recent events in China, he recalled that the riots and mutiny in the country were brought about by both internal and external causes.

Hong Kong Delegation Visits, Discusses Trade

LD0410033589 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Representatives of over 30 firms, members of the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, who arrived here today for a seven day visit, will study the possibilities for business relations and trade and economic cooperation with soviet enterprises and organisations.

The delegation, led by Helmut Sohmen, president of the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, plan to meet representatives of Soviet foreign economic organisations and industries. The delegation was received by Vladislav Malkevich, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, today.

A seminar on prospects for developing bilateral relations in trade, finances, insurance and other areas of mutual interest will be held jointly with the Soviet export promotion association in the course of the visit.

Northeast Asia & Pacific

Japanese Military, Territorial Policies Criticized

PM1610113989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[International observer V. Vinogradov article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems, Judgments": "Trap for Themselves"]

[Text] Two seemingly unrelated events occurred in Japan right at the end of September. But since the majority of news agencies reported them in the same "package," such a chance coincidence began to appear as a not at all chance natural law. It was reported that large-scale Japanese-U.S. maneuvers had begun in areas adjacent to Hokkaido Island, while in Tokyo J. Matsumoto, chief of the National Defense Agency, had approved Japan's "Basic Provisions for Defense Plans."

So, about the maneuvers. More than 40 ships, including the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier "Carl Vinson," approximately 350 aircraft, and 45,000 servicemen were involved in them. The task of the maneuvers was to rehearse joint operations to repulse a "massive attack by an enemy trying to capture Hokkaido Island." It is not specified who the "enemy" is in this case, but... According to the scenario of the maneuvers, aircraft based on the U.S. carriers with which the Japanese Navy actively cooperates "inflict preemptive strikes" on Sakhalin and the Soviet Maritime Kray.

Such actions undoubtedly have a very remote bearing on the direct "defense" of Hokkaido Island. This is now the time to proceed to the second event—the approval by the chief of the National Defense Agency of the new document which, as announced, moreover, will be the basis of the upcoming 5-year program of Japan's military building, which comes into force in 1991.

It should be pointed out that the approval of the "Basic Provisions for Defense Plans" is clearly not an ordinary event in Japan's military policy. For the country's military circles are still guided by the directive that, in the event of an attack on Japan, its Armed Forces will conduct defensive fighting deep within their own territory, counterattacking the enemy where possible. But the adoption of the "Basic Provisions" drastically alters the picture. They provide for a switch from the strategy of "defense deep within territory" to the strategy of "forward defense." And this means that Japanese troops will be brought up to "forward lines," to the state border, and will conduct combat operations not only around the entire perimeter of the archipelago but even beyond it.

One amplification. After this decision Japan's Armed Forces should hardly be known any longer by their official title of the "self-defense forces." For what "self-defense" can you speak of now, if the Japanese Army is to be stationed on "forward lines," from which it will be able to make "preemptive strikes" against the enemy? How this is to be done is being verified during the joint U.S.-Japanese maneuvers off Hokkaido Island.

New armaments are needed to fulfill the new tasks. The 5-year program provides for the ground troops to be supplemented by modern artillery and missile systems and the latest tanks. It is planned to add new combat hardware to the Air Force and the Navy. And for the latter, Japan's militarist circles are literally extorting [vybivayut] some "defensive" (for "self-defense," naturally) aircraft carriers.

All this cannot fail to bring about a further unrestrained growth in the country's military spending. And this occurs at a time when, in the draft state budget for fiscal 1990, it exceeds the figure of 4 trillion yen for the first time since the war. According to specialists' estimates, such a military budget will put Japan in third place in the world in terms of the absolute size of appropriations for military purposes.

The following point is also noteworthy: Tokyo explains the switch from the strategy of "defense deep within territory" to the strategy of "forward defense" with reference to none other than the long-irksome assertion of "the Soviet Union's increasing military might in Asia." Facts? Of course, none are cited, since none exist at all. Nevertheless, both the "White Paper on Questions of Defense" and the "Blue Paper on Questions of Diplomacy" recently approved by the Japanese Cabinet are full of fabrications about the "Soviet military threat," which, it is said, can only be countered by efficiently developing the system of the Japanese-U.S. "security treaty" and building up Japan's military potential on the basis of the latest technology.

It is striking that all this is being asserted at a time when the USSR's constructive foreign policy initiatives, which pursue the aim of improving the situation in the Asia and Pacific region as a whole and in the Far East in particular, have been greeted with approval in Asia. The Soviet policy program in the region, which was made public by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and also in the speech which he made at the United Nations at the end of last year, is also at the center of attention.

Moreover, realizing in practice the provisions of its truly defensive doctrine, the Soviet Union intends to reduce its Army and Navy in the Far East by 200,000 servicemen as of 1 January 1991. A significant proportion of Soviet troops has already been withdrawn from Mongolia. Far East Military District regiments are being disbanded. Combat ships are being removed from the Pacific Fleet. So how is it possible to claim that there is "increasing" Soviet military might in the Far East?!

It should not be thought that Tokyo itself has not the slightest notion of this. Thus, at one of his news conferences the aforesaid National Defense Agency Chief J. Matsumoto, according to the KYODO News Agency, welcomed the reduction in military spending provided for in the draft USSR State Budget for fiscal 1990. However, the head of the military department added, "the situation today is such that Japan cannot follow the Soviet Union's initiative." One wonders why. According to the National Defense Agency chief, it is because the might of the Japanese Armed Forces "has not yet reached the level defined in the agency's plans." J. Matsumoto thereby defined quite unambiguously the policy of continuing Japan's buildup of its militarist efforts and promoting the country to a leading role in the military sphere, too.

It was precisely this, not some "external threat" to the country, that occasioned Tokyo's change of defense strategy. Even more so as U.S. Vice President D. Quayle, who paid a visit to the Japanese Islands, virtually reduced his talks with the Japanese leadership to appeals to increase Japan's military might so that it can lighten the "militarist burden" borne by the United States in this region. He also spoke of this during a visit to the Misawa Airbase (Honshu Island), to Okinawa, where the majority of the U.S. military facilities in Japan are located, and to Chitose Airbase (Hokkaido Island).

Incidentally, while speaking in Hokkaido, the U.S. vice president virtually subscribed to the campaign of territorial claims being made on the Soviet Union by the Japanese Government. D. Quayle did this despite the fact that the Soviet Union's ownership of the South Kuril Islands group, to which official Tokyo lays claim, stems, in particular, from a number of wartime and postwar allied agreements, including the 1945 Yalta agreement signed by the USSR, the United States, and Britain. D. Quayle did this despite the fact that on the eve of his arrival the Japanese Government had undertaken an overt demarche by appealing to all Japanese to refrain from making trips to the South Kuril Islands on Soviet visas. In other words, a ban is imposed on such trips until the problem of the "northern territories"—this is what Japanese Government circles call these islands—is resolved.

Such a policy of Tokyo's ruling circles aimed at stepping up and expanding the country's military activity shows that Japan, responding to constant pressure from across the ocean, is increasingly being drawn into Washington's global militarist plans and increasingly finding itself in a trap of its own making. Such a development of events cannot fail to arouse valid concern in the neighbors of the Land of the Rising Sun, including the Soviet Union.

Official Tokyo's policy—in both the military and territorial fields—throws a shadow over Soviet-Japanese relations and holds up their positive development. And yet, now that the date of the upcoming visit to Tokyo by Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev—1991—has been made known, broad prospects are opening up for arranging relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between our two countries.

Kaifu's Remarks at Diet Session Criticized

OW1410223889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu expressed his views on the Asia and Pacific situation when answering questions by Lower House member Ichikawa of the Komeito party at a Diet session held on 12 October. Moscow Radio commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

Prime Minister Kaifu stated at the Diet session that the so-called cold war idea still exists in the region and that the region is far from detente. He did not mention some important factors which have changed the situation in Asia. Intermediate-range missiles have been abolished in Asia. Following General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to China, military confrontation between the two giants has been substantially reduced. The Soviet Union plans to reduce its troops by 120,000 in the Far East. China has also cut its troops substantially. Vietnam pulled its troops out of Cambodia and the Soviet Union withdrew a large number of troops from Mongolia. Therefore, the global trend of disarmament Prime Minister Kaifu mentioned in his remarks at the Diet session is appearing in the Asia and Pacific region.

In line with the fact that Japan is in the forefront of the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, including their allies in the Pacific, we have no reason to disagree with Prime Minister Kaifu's assessment of the situation in the region. We can call this a cold war idea and a harsh reality. At the Diet session, Prime Minister Kaifu cited reality as grounds for arguing for the need to continue military buildup in Japan. The Japanese Government intends to base its actions on the cold war framework in the future and seems to have no intention of changing this.

The expansion of armaments has led the world into a blind alley of confrontation. Much to our regret, Japan intends to pursue a path of arming itself in the future despite the clear fact that the expansion of armaments has produced nothing. Japan's defense spending has increased from 5 to 6 percent on average each year. Has this increased defense spending really strengthened Japan's security? No, this has contributed to heightening the cold war idea which Prime Minister Kaifu confirmed. Asia lags behind Europe in disaramment and detente, as Prime Minister Kaifu indicated. What is the reason for this? It is necessary for us to think about shifting somthing beneficial to Asia from European experience. As Japan is aware, Europe has made efforts to change the cold war idea and has scored some results. What does it mean to change the cold war idea? Among other things, it means we should give priority to political means, not military means, to strengthen security. This idea made it possible for European nations to hold talks in Vienna on cuts in troop strength and weapons in Europe.

In his remarks at the Diet session, Prime Minister Kaifu did not suggest any political measures to promote detente in Asia. Is it not natural for Asia to lag behind Europe in detente under these circumstances? In this connection, I would like to refer to Soviet proposals for improving the situation in the Asia and Pacific region. The proposals call for measures to freeze fleet strength and for negotiations among Far East nations to lower the level of military confrontation. They also call for the creation of a mechanism for political consultations on security. These and other proposals were made in General Secretary Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. At this year's Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial talks, the Soviet side proposed talks with Japan and the United States to discuss the issue of reducing military tension. I have already mentioned the unilateral troop cuts by the Soviet Union.

As listeners are aware, Japan and the United States have made no response to the Soviet actions and proposals. The continuity or termination of the cold war idea depends on these two countries. I hope that Prime Minister Kaifu's remarks at the Diet session, which called for military buildup, will not be the final option of the Japanese leadership.

U.S. 'Ignores' Terms of Security Treaty With Japan

OW0910000589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Listeners, U.S. nuclear-powered submarines already have called at Yokosuka port on two occasions since the beginning of this month in violation of the regulations. In this connection, radio Moscow military commentator Kalinin states as follows:

According to an agreement signed between the Japanese and U.S. Governments, the United States must inform Japan in advance of port calls by its nuclear-powered submarines. It also has the obligation to inform the Japanese Government about the purposes of the port calls as well as the number of the piers at which the vessels will be moored. Nevertheless, a U.S. nuclear-powered submarine entered the naval base at Yokosuka without prior notice on 2 October in violation of this agreement, and on the following day, another submarine was moored at a pier different from the one mentioned in its notice.

At first glance, these two incidents may not seem significant. Well, let us not jump to conclusions. First, it should be taken into consideration that the ship calling at the port was not an ordinary ship but a nuclear-powered submarine. Like all nuclear facilities, the nuclear-powered submarine presents the danger of causing radioactive pollution. Moreover, this type of submarine is generally equipped with nuclear weapons.

The United States has not admitted the existence of nuclear weapons thus far. However, facts are facts. There is innumerable and irrefutable evidence proving that nuclear weapons have been brought into Japan. Let us cite only one of them. Mr (Gilmore Bush), former captain of a U.S. nuclear-powered submarine, admitted that nuclear weapons are not removed when U.S. warships call at foreign ports. Generally speaking, it is technically impossible to do so in the case of a nuclear-powered submarine.

Now, let us imagine the possible disaster that may result from the breakdown of equipment generating nuclear power on a U.S. nuclear-powered submarine or warship calling at Yokosuka port or in the event that nuclear weapons go out of control. According to the estimate of Professor Davis of the University of California, over 47,000 people will be killed in the Tokyo area and radioactive fallout will spread over a 100-km radius. A strong possibility exists that such a disaster will occur. It is no accident that the United States has stationed special units trained to handle nuclear power accidents at both Yokosuka and Sasebo ports.

When this is taken into consideration, it becomes quite clear that calls at Japanese ports by U.S. nuclear-powered submarines, even when approved, are by no means safe. It is even more dangerous because the recent calls at Yokosuka port were made suddenly. According to the U.S. side, the submarines entered Yokosuka port in violation of the regulations because of communication equipment troubles. Although the U.S. side indicates that it was impossible to give advance notice, I certainly cannot agree with this explanation and view this to be an open violation of the regulations.

The U.S. side completely ignores the regulations, just as it ignores its duty not to bring any nuclear weapons into Japan without prior consultations. In other words, the U.S. forces have had their own way. This indicates that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is by no means a treaty of equality.

Commentary on Japan's Non-Nuclear Principles

OW1610230689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] The issue of adherence to the non-nuclear principles was raised at the recent conference of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

The issue first aroused attention because of the remarks made by Mr Eugene Carroll of the U.S. Defense Information Center. Speaking at [words indistinct], Mr Carroll disclosed that nuclear weapons loaded on American vessels were not removed when the vessels called at foreign ports, and that they were not transferred somewhere else prior to port calls. Mr Carroll's remarks are not the first testimony baring the lie about the transshipment of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, his remarks are very authoritative and of significance, because Mr Carroll once served as captain of the Yokosuka-based U.S. aircraft carrier Missouri [as heard].

KYODO NEWS SERVICE stated that Mr Carroll's remarks may rekindle a debate on the issue of Japan's adherence to the three non-nuclear principles [not possessing, producing, or introducing nuclear weapons into Japan]. However, it is most likely that the issue will be hotly debated despite his remarks. This is because the top opposition leaders, the top leader of the Japanese Socialist Party in particular, following their victories in the House of Councillors election, have been strongly appealing for the need to legislate Japan's three non-nuclear principles. If legislation is adopted, Japan will be able to adhere strictly to its non-nuclear position.

However, the government and Liberal Democratic Party are opposed to this, holding that there is no need to legislate the three non-nuclear principles. Moreover, the government has suggested no measures at all to prevent the violation of the three non-nuclear principles. In addition to Mr Carroll's remarks the other day, there is much evidence to prove the violation of the these principles. For example, it has already been proved that an aircraft loaded with a hydrogen bomb aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier Ticonderoga was lost at sea when the ship was located off the Japanese coast. According to experts, radioactive matter emitted from this hydrogen bomb have been rendered ineffective by sea water.

Under such circumstances, the Japanese Government has found a solution to reconciling these facts with the three non-nuclear principles. What it had to do was to merely accept the rules proposed by the U.S. side. As is known, the United States has neither confirmed nor denied that its vessels are equipped with nuclear weapons. In other words, even if their vessels have introduced nuclear weapons into Japan, the facts will never be disclosed. Meanwhile, the Japanese Government has explained that since it has never received any notice from the U.S. side, there have been no nuclear weapons introduced; therefore, the three non-nuclear principles have never been violated.

Nevertheless, at the International Physicians' conference held in Hiroshima, Mr Peter (Hagel) of Australia stated that Japan was taking a position that there would be no progress in nuclear disarmament in Asia. He pointed out that the U.S. position of neither confirming nor denying the presence of the nuclear weapons has been a major obstacle to the Asian nations' efforts to achieve a nuclear-free Asia. In fact, the consistent antinuclear approach taken by the Asia-Pacific nations is the only way to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in this region. Approval of the U.S. principle is tantamount to essentially eroding this antinuclear position. This observation also applies to those nations, including Japan, that have officially declared their antinuclear views. What measures should be taken to end this situation?

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze stated at the United Nations in 1988 that all vessels loaded with nuclear weapons should state the fact that nuclear weapons were loaded prior to making calls at foreign ports. At least through these measures all nations will be able to freely enforce their non-nuclear principles. It should be possible to ask nuclear powers to pay attention to this principle.

However, the U.S. Government has rejected this proposal because it does not want to bind the hands of its vessels. However, such freedom indicates violation of the non-nuclear principles and is tantamount to ignoring other laws. For instance, without any prior notification to the Japanese ministries or agencies concerned, the U.S. nuclear-powered submarine "Permit" left Yokosuka Port on 2 October. According to the existing laws, notification must have been given by the U.S. Embassy and the Japanese Foreign Ministry 24 hours prior to the departure.

Talks Continue in Sapparo on Soviet-Japanese Ties

OW0910065489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] People from both the Soviet Union and Japan are continuing their discussions in Sapporo, Japan, under the motto of friendship, good neighborly relations, and cooperation in the Soviet Far East.

Japanese representatives have pointed out as follows: The relationship between the Soviet Far East region and Japan has been promoted rapidly in recent years as a result of perestroyka and the improvement in the world situation.

On the other hand, the Soviet side said that the problems which are pulling both countries apart should not be increased intentionally. They added that the Soviet Union is convinced that the two countries must continue to seek a point of contact.

Commentary on 'Major Reaction' to Gorbachev Visit

OW0810092689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Listeners: The decision on Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan in 1991 invited major reaction from Japanese newspapers. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

It is quite natural that the Japanese mass media treated this announcement as wonderful big news. The decision on General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan was reached at the Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial talks held in New York on 27 September. At that time, a concrete date for the visit was mentioned for the first time. In this connection, ASAHI SHIMBUN writes that the Japanese side considers this visit to be a turning point in developing bilateral relations. It seems that this remark is in accord with the Soviet Union's evaluation of the significance of the forthcoming visit.

In his talks with Foreign Minister Nakayama in New York, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze also said the purpose of the visit was to raise the Soviet-Japanese relations to a new level. Incidentally, none of the Soviet top leaders has ever visited Japan before. This fact has become notably conspicuous in recent years because the relations between the Soviet Union and the developed capitalist nations began to improve positively. ASAHI SHIMBUN writes that although Japan is one of the major leading countries in the West, it lags behind these nations in developing its relations with the Soviet Union. The paper also warns that Japan may be left behind the general trend of the world should it maintain its hostile relations with the Soviet Union. MAINICHI SHIMBUN also urges the Japanese Government, in its relations with the Soviet Union, to consider the positive world trend, which was proved by the normalization of the Sino-Soviet relations and improvement of dialogues between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As you know, the agreement to hold a U.S.-USSR summit meeting was disclosed a few days before the announcement of General Secretary Gorbachev's planned visit. In this manner, dialogues between Japan and the Soviet Union will be raised to a level similar to that existing in the relations between the Soviet Union and other Western nations by the Soviet leader's visit to Japan. Many Japanese newspapers call attention to the fact that the Soviet Union is already preparing for dialogues with Japan 2 years from now. ASAHI SHIMBUN, for example, notes this as a sign of the Soviet Union's long-term strategies in its relations with Japan and writes that the Soviet Union attaches importance to bilateral relations.

Moreover, it can be said that this preparation for the visit is a sign of Soviet confidence in the gradual development of dialogue with Japan in the coming 2 years. Now, there are some factors which lead us to believe in the Soviet confidence. Political contacts between the two countries have already been actively and positively promoted for about a year. Finally, the issue of peace treaty has become a concrete subject at bilateral negotiations. Japanese leaders' remarks calling for a development of Japan-USSR relations are notable. For example, Prime Minister Kaifu, in his policy speech to the Diet delivered yesterday, said that the government will firmly maintain its policy to establish stable relations with the Soviet Union and to conclude a peace treaty. However, he, once again, entwined this issue with a solution of the territorial problem.

The commentaries on the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to Japan take a positive attitude toward the territorial issue and its solution. Opinions range from those who believe that there will be progress in the solution of the territorial issue through the visit to those who express more cautious views. For example, MAINICHI SHIMBUN writes that it would be difficult to say that the issue would be resolved instantly through the visit alone. SANKEI SHIMBUN and NHK also express similar views. What we must say on this point is that there should not be excessive expectations on the complete resolution of this issue in overall bilateral relations on which there is a particularly great difference in views. Otherwise, both sides may be disappointed. To avoid disappointment, I think it would be wiser not to concentrate only on the differences but to focus on issues on which mutual compromise is possible. ASAHI SHIMBUN expresses a similar view, writing that although it is important to uphold principles, it is also necessary to search for ways to adjust the overall relations, including economic cooperation and other issues. Aside from the economic aspect, it cites measures for relaxation of tension in the Asia and Pacific region, cultural exchanges, and environmental protection as possible areas of overseas aid. ASAHI also asserts that Soviet-Japanese negotiations should not be limited to issues in bilateral relations but should have a wider perspective. Considering the role of the two countries in the present world, I agree with this proposition.

In connection with General Secretary Gorbachev's visit, the Japanese press has paid special attention to the prospects of bilateral trade and economic cooperation. YOMIURI SHIMBUN seems to believe that the Soviet desire for Japanese participation in Siberian development influenced the decision to visit Japan. It is erroneous to overestimate the economic factor in Soviet foreign policy. On this point, it is more than clear that economic cooperation in whatever form will not have any decisive influence on perestroyka. The point is that Japanese participation will constitute mutually beneficial cooperation and not aid.

On the other hand, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN stresses the difficulty in this area, pointing out that because of the uncertain prospects of perestroyka, Japanese business circles are cautious about investments in the Soviet economy. The paper also quotes Keidanren [Federation of Economic Organizations] Chairman Saito's remarks that General Secretary Gorbachev's visit will promote

economic exchanges. I think these all demonstrate the dualistic approach of Japanese business to cooperation with the Soviet Union. In any case, it is clear that an improvement in political relations will give rise to most favorable conditions in the economic field.

In order for General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to actually contribute to the improvement of bilateral ties, the necessary preparations should be made. In this respect, I agree with MAINICHI SHIMBUN's view that in preparation for the Soviet leader's visit vigorous efforts should be made to further extend political dialogues and eliminate differences in views as much as possible. With this, General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan will be a success and 1991 will be the year of a turning point in political relations.

Commentator Discusses 'Arafat's Japan Visit

OW0710121489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Chairman 'Arafat of the PLO Executive Council has concluded his visit to Japan. Radio Mosocow commentator Igor Yuritskiy writes about the event.

During his 4-day stay in Japan, Chairman 'Arafat, the PLO leader, held talks with Prime Minister Kaifu, Foreign Minister Nakayama, and leaders of the five opposition parties. The two sides centered their attention on the proposal made by Egyptian President Mubarak for coordination in settling the Middle East problem. President Mubarak's 10-point proposal is extensively supported by world leaders, including several Israeli leaders. The Soviet Union has also stated its support for this proposal.

Support was also voiced at the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and President Mubarak held recently in New York. At the talks, the two sides maintained that efforts to seek peace in the Middle East should be further activated, and they confirmed a consensus that a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem could be achieved only through the convocation of an international conference that included Israel and the PLO.

The official Japanese source has also stated its support for President Mubarak's proposal, stressing that Japan calls for the Israeli troops' withdrawal from all occupied areas and for recognition of the Palestinians' rights to self-determination and the founding of an independent state. Meanwhile, Chairman 'Arafat maintained that dialogue between the Palestinians and Israel—an essential point in President Mubarak's proposal—should be realized.

The objective of Chairman 'Arafat's talks in Japan was not to confirm that the two sides share exactly the same views on the Middle East situation. His visit was particularly important when it is considered from the viewpoint of the PLO's prestige. First of all, it was Chairman 'Arafat's first visit to Japan at the Japanese Government's invitation. Second, Chairman 'Arafat attended a ceremony held to mark the upgrading of the PLO Tokyo office to the PLO Representative's Office, with the Japanese Government's approval. Nevertheless, Japan has not yet recognized the state of Palestine that has been recognized by over 100 nations. Chairman 'Arafat visited Japan in his capacity as the PLO leader, but not as the leader of this state. Third, Chairman 'Arafat called on the Japanese leadership to further utilize Japan's influential political power in the world, support the Palestinians in their efforts to attain peace and to establish an independent state of Palestine, and to create a mechanism for regular exchanges between Japan and the PLO at the summit level. Fourth, Chairman 'Arafat tried to obtain increased economic aid for the PLO in advanced technology and other fields from Japan.

Meanwhile, Japanese politicians also held expectations from his visit. Japan has long been trying to play a major role in the settlement of the Middle East problem. In this connection, Japanese leaders have shown particular interest in the Iran-Iraq war and the Arab-Israel dispute. On this occasion, Japan had a chance to state its support for President Mubarak's proposal before the Israeli Government had made any decision on the proposal.

However, although Chairman 'Arafat stated in definite terms that Japan was dependent on Arabian oil, Japan refused to reduce its trade with Israel and responded in ambiguous terms to the proposal for holding Japanese-Palestinian talks at the summit level on a regular basis. As for its economic aid to the PLO, Japan merely confirmed its intention to continue its aid within the framework of the UN program.

In this way, the Japanese Government does not intend to deviate from the course of the United States or other Western nations in promoting its policy toward the Middle East. At the same time, it has clearly indicated that it has no intention of forestalling other Western nations in this area. And yet, there are sufficient grounds to believe that the Japan-Palestine talks held in Tokyo will raise significant hopes on settling the Palestinian and the Middle East problems.

Meanwhile, Chairman 'Arafat has indicated that the PLO is ready to compromise. In other words, he stated that recognizing Israel as an independent state, the PLO is ready to hold negotiations with Israel. The Japanese side confirmed its support for the UN Security Council's No 242 and No 338 Resolutions. Stated in these resolutions are the principles of withdrawing Israeli troops from all areas they have occupied since 1967, and recognizing Palestinians' rights to self-determination and to establishing their own independent state, as well as recognizing Israel's right to exist.

Japan has supported the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East problem with the participation of the PLO to represent the Palestinians' interests. This position coincides with the Soviet approach

toward the settlement of the Middle East problem. In the interest of settling this problem, the Soviet Union and Japan can cooperate with each other in the international arena.

Physician Kuzin on Hiroshima IPPNW Congress

OW0910024589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War [IPPNW] opened its conference in Hiroshima on 7 October. Physicians from over 60 nations are participants in this movement. Mikhail Kuzin, a member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and cochairman of the IPPNW conference, comments on the purpose of this conference as follows:

[Begin Kuzin recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] Our movement began in 1981. The world situation since then has changed drastically through the efforts of various groups, including physicians. Physicians have made clear what the aftereffects of a nuclear war will be from a medical standpoint. We opened this conference under the slogan of "No More Hiroshima." This slogan coincides with the sentiments expressed by the Monument for Atomic Bomb Victims, which has been built in the Peace Park in Hiroshima, sentiments that begin with the phrase: Please rest here in peace. The prescription we have written for mankind's survival is based on the following: nuclear tests must be banned and nuclear weapons must be completely eliminated. [end recording]

This is what Cochairman Kuzin has stated.

Next I ask him what concrete topics are to be discussed at the Hiroshima conference. Mr Kuzin answers as follows:

[Begin Kuzin recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] First, the issue of mankind's morality with regard to nuclear weapons will be brought up at the conference. Problems concerning natural disasters also will be discussed. For example, there will be a discussion about what measures physicians should take in the case of a serious earthquake, such as the one in Armenia. [end recording]

This is Mr Kuzin's answer.

What measures have the Soviet Government taken with regard to the international physicians' movement? Mr Kuzin states the following:

[Begin Kuzin recording fading into Japanese translation] The Soviet Government has supported this movement by various methods. Thanks to glasnost—the openness in information—that has been spreading throughout Soviet society, information concerning the health of people living in the neighborhood of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground has been made public. Open discussions have been held and the testing ground has been opened to the public. Moreover, an organization called the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Club has been formed. Underground nuclear tests are by no means harmless. Radioactive gas is generated every time a test is conducted. There is a danger that such gases will enter the [words indistinct] of the human body. There is also a danger that these gases will penetrate into the tissues of both animals and plants. Through animals and plants, there is then a link to human bodies. That is the reason we advocate a nuclear test ban, as well as the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. [end recording]

This is what Mr Kuzin has stated.

Japanese Socialist Women Visit 28 Sep-8 Oct

PM0910125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At CPSU Central Committee's Invitation"]

[Text] A women's delegation of party workers from the Socialist Party of Japan headed by Japanese Parliament deputy Yaeko Itohisa was in the Soviet Union 28 September through 8 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Women and Family, Mother, and Child Protection, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Committee of Soviet Women. The Japanese socialist women also met with Soviet scientists and workers in the mass media and visited the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Leningrad Oblast, where they were acquainted with the progress of political and economic reforms.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Singapore Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

LD1410191289 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Leningrad October 14 TASS—A Singapore parliament delegation led by Tan Soo Khoon, speaker of parliament, arrived in the Soviet Union today for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Tan Soo Khoon told a TASS correspondent that he and national parliament delegation members are glad to arrive in the Soviet Union and are attaching much importance to it because it is their first visit here.

"We looked forward to the beginning of the visit. We want to get acquainted with your country better and see for ourselves the changes taking place in Soviet society.

"We hope that the visit will open up a series of mutual meetings at parliament level and will serve to broaden contacts between Singapore and the Soviet Union," the delegation leader said.

Commentary on Singapore Proposal for U.S. Bases

HK1610075389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] In an interview with the BBC, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew confirmed that his country is prepared to allow its territory to be used by American military airplanes and ships. We must view this plan in the context of the overall situation pertaining to Southeast Asia, not just in connection with Singapore but also as a major sealane and air route in the region.

Singapore is a member of ASEAN and thus has a commitment to the other ASEAN members. It is not surprising that the other countries have been surprised by Singapore's initiative. Regardless of the considerations and conditions of the proposal, what results—political or financial—would such a move have on the ASEAN countries? In truth, the permanent presence of the United States in Singapore would clearly affect the association's future.

Ever since its failure in Vietnam, the Pentagon's intentions in Southeast Asia have been unmistakable. It will be recalled that American troops had to abandon their bases in Thailand, causing the Pentagon to scout around for another site for its military facilities in Southeast Asia to maintain its power over the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Because of that failure and in order to fill the vacuum in the strategic line stretching from Diego Garcia to the Philippines, the Americans are seeking to fill this vacuum and Singapore is willing to accommodate them. This has heightened fears among various groups of people in the ASEAN countries who charge that such a move is a violation of the association's aim to set up a nuclear-free Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in Southeast Asia.

The presence of the military bases in the Philippines is, without a doubt, just a temporary phenomenon. On the other hand, setting up a base for repair facilities in Singapore, according to Indonesian Defense Minister Murdani, can easily be transformed into an American military base next year.

So how does Washington plan to justify to the Pentagon the need for a new military facility? As usual, the reason given is that it is necessary to maintain the balance of power in the region. However such explanations do not jibe with the present situation. In Southeast Asia, the need for the military bases has been explained by the fact that Soviet warships dock at Cam Ranh harbor, which is why the stationing of American warships in the Philippines' Subic Naval Base is required to balance military might in the region. However an initiative by Moscow to dismantle its facility in Cam Ranh Bay in exchange for the dismantling of Subic Naval Base has been ignored by Washington. So, it is difficult to view the present situation involving the balance of power when faced with such a reaction as this.

Hence it is not surprising why people in Southeast Asia, as reported by the JAKARTA POST, have been roused and now wish to do away with the American military presence in the region. In this connection, the old reason given by the Pentagon about the need for the bases to maintain security in the region just does not ring true. There is a growing movement in the Philippines against the retention of the military bases. The agreement covering the bases is due to expire in 1991 and negotiations are scheduled for December this year. Already, members of the Philippine Senate have expressed their opposition to any new agreement allowing the bases to remain.

Meanwhile, Washington is wasting no time in pushing its own interests. It is using the issue of financial assistance—a sensitive issue for the Manila government—as a foil to the matter of the country's $29 billion foreign debt. Along with this is the claim that the military bases provide jobs for 70,000 people. Another means of pressure is Singapore's offer to host the bases. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Singapore's proposal will be brought up during the talks between the Philippines and the United States. Some American senators have said that Washington is opposed to granting the loans requested by the Aquino Government. In this connection, the Pentagon, wanting to clear itself of any liability, was seeking other alternatives for its bases. It was at this point where Singapore entered the scene. According to the Indian newspaper THE STATESMAN, this proposal is being opposed by Singapore's neighbors who view the presence of American military bases in the region as a violation of the peace and security of the countries in Southeast Asia. If this happens, the plan to make the region a nuclear-free Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality will be a tangled one indeed.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Cambodia Situation

PM1310104789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by B. Vinogradov: "Cambodia: Pol Pot's Men Threaten War"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—Over 2 weeks have elapsed since the last Vietnamese soldier left Cambodia's territory. The complete withdrawal of troops has become the property of history, as they say, and everywhere, even in the most subjective assessments, this is viewed as an important stage in the solution of the Cambodian problem.

Throughout these days journalists working in this region have been following with close attention the development of the situation both in Cambodia itself and around it. What draws the attention above all is the fact that the Pol Potists and their allies have considerably stepped up their "propaganda fire," boasting on radio and in interviews with foreign agencies of their "small but convincing victories." According to their summaries they have already virtually "seized entire districts" in

the Western provinces, are "laying siege to cities," have "rich trophies" and in general are "holding onto the initiative."

Indeed, as was expected in the past few days the opposition's armed forces have made several attempts to attack the Cambodian People's Army force dispositions in various regions along the border with Thailand. But, having met with a powerful rebuff, they returned to their own bases.

At a press conference in Phnom Penh Cambodian Defense Minister Tie Banh, describing the situation, point out that the government troops are in full control of border territory and are successfully resolving the tasks of ensuring the country's security. In early October a group of foreign correspondents was able to tour Battambang Province and visit Pailin—a city which, according to the reports of several agencies, is allegedly in the hands of the Pol Potists. The journalists found nothing there which could confirm these allegations. Pailin, like Sisophon, is living an ordinary life, the organs of the people's power there are successfully performing their duties. The army and the local self defense forces, having repelled the first attacks of the hostile groupings, are reliably guarding the citizens' peaceful system.

Tie Banh stressed yet again that the Cambodian people do not want civil war and are continuing to find ways to lead matters toward national conciliation. He urged the opposition forces to cease fire and start talks. But practice is showing that the Pol Potists and the armed detachments of Sihanouk and Son Sann still intend to prove their strength on the battle field and thus confirm the well founded nature of their claims. Military specialists believe that soon, with the advent of the dry season, hostilities will develop far more extensively than now and the victories achieved with the aid of weapons will have greater importance for each of the opposing sides.

The opposition does not conceal its plans to seize part of the territory in West Cambodia as a bridgehead, to dig in there and to conduct political bartering with the Phnom Penh government "on a legal basis." At the same time it is clear to everyone that, if it does not succeed in doing this within the next few months and if its soldiers are beaten, the prestige of the State of Cambodia will increase sharply on the international plane, which will most likely entail a period of recognitions and the consolidation of the Phnom Penh Government's positions. If that is the outcome the situation could change radically and then, as Hun Sen has stressed, it will be difficult for the opposition to count on compromise.

Seeking to prevent a military clash, Phnom Penh is again suggesting resuming dialogue within the framework of those consultations which have been worked out in the past—either the talks with Sihanouk or the informal meetings in Jakarta, or the Paris conference. The ASEAN countries are also prepared to make their contribution to the peaceful solution of the conflict. Thus, Thai Prime Minister C. Chunhawan on a visit to France recently offered his assistance for the organization of a new meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk. So far Sihanouk has not agreed but opinions are being voiced that this meeting could take place next month in Paris or Bangkok.

As the country on whose territory the opposition bases and refugee camps are situated, Thailand has also expressed the intention to take an active part in preparing the next informal meeting of the four Cambodian sides and representatives of interested Asian states in order to elaborate a peaceful solution as rapidly as possible and to create and put into operation an international control mechanism. One of the basic functions of this mechanism, the Paris conference also pointed out, should be the observance of the reduction of foreign military aid to the opposing sides as a decisive condition for restoring peace in Cambodia and unblocking the conflict.

Near East & South Asia

Extent of Soviet Presence, Aid to Afghanistan

PM1610184789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Andrey Pecherskiy dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent's Commentary": "Rebuttal of Slander"]

[Text] Kabul, 16 Oct—Reports alleging that there are 300 Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan have recently appeared in the U.S. press. Moreover, reports on massive supplies of Soviet weapons to Afghanistan are constantly turning up in the Western press.

The growing flood of publications like these is not surprising in itself. With the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in February this year the opposition lost its main trump card in the struggle to seize power in the country. The "holy war" has not come off. So it is perfectly understandable that interested circles in the United States should try to "warm up" the war of the "hard-liners" by making allegations of this nature.

What can be said in this connection? There are about 500 Soviet citizens in Afghanistan at present. They are mainly staff at the embassy and trade mission in Kabul, other Soviet institutions, and the general consulates in the city of Mazar-e Sharif and the port of Khayraton. This figure also includes a limited number of Soviet military specialists. Note, specialists, not advisers.

Yes, the Soviet Union does supply the legitimate government of Afghanistan with food, industrial goods, and also a certain quantity of weapons, which the Republic of Afghanistan, as a sovereign state, has the right to acquire to meet the needs of its internal and external security and to repel outside aggression. At the same time, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its support for the proposal made by Najibullah, president of the Republic of

Afghanistan: to mutually terminate arms supplies to the opposing sides, on the condition that there is a simultaneous cease-fire.

In a statement, the Afghan Foreign Ministry condemned slanderous fabrications in the U.S. press that have alleged that Soviet military specialists in the republic are virtually at war with the armed opposition. Kabul has also said that U.S. specialists could be given the opportunity to visit Scud missile launch facilities and see for themselves the technical and military expertise of the servicemen of the Afghan Army itself. Although, as a sovereign state, Afghanistan is under no obligation to do this.

Essentially, another goodwill gesture has been made. It is designed to make the United States finally understand the real reasons for the defeats incurred by the mercenaries. These reasons certainly do not lie in any outside intrigues but in the growing combat capability of the defenders of Afghanistan, which stands in sharp contrast to the squabbles and internecine fighting in the armed opposition camp.

Afghan Decree Restores Powers to Assembly

LD1410192689 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul October 14 TASS—The BAKHTAR News Agency has circulated the text of Afghan President Najibullah's decree on the return of powers to the National Council—the parliament of the Republic of Afghanistan—by the Republic's Council of Ministers.

Positive changes are now observed in the pursuance of the national reconciliation policy and in the strengthening of Afghanistan's state sovereignty, the decree says.

Considering that the introduction of the state of emergency is of temporary nature, the following is confirmed: the National Council's powers, transferred to the Afghan Council of Ministers when the state of emergency was declared, shall be returned to the Afghan parliament.

The text of the document makes no mention about lifting the state of emergency.

USSR-Afghan Freight Cooperation Resumes

LD1410190989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Following a certain interval connected with the military situation, cooperation on the transportation of transit freight between the Republic of Afghanistan and our country is once again being resumed.

[Correspondent V. Fadeyev, identified by screen caption] After dizzying ascents and descents over the Salang Pass the Kabul-Hayratan road breaks out onto the flat spaces of the desert. The vestiges of dushman brigandage can still be seen today along the road, although Balkh Province as a whole—through which runs the greater part of the route, almost 500 km in length—demonstrates more clearly perhaps than the others the positive results of the policy of national reconciliation.

The life of the powerful transportation organism begins here, on the Soviet bank, from which a railway branchline over the friendship bridge linking the two banks of the Amu Darya leads to the port of Hayratan, which is on the Afghan side. Our builders and assembly workers have already returned there to resume work on expanding the port and the transhipment base of the joint Afghan-Soviet transport company.

Grain and oil products were being unloaded on the day of our visit. I would like to explain immediately to skeptics calling for an end to assistance to Afghanistan that this is being done first of all within the framework of the specific obligations and agreements that we have with Afghanistan. And as we know treaties do have to be observed. But, secondly, it is by no means simply an Afghan "thank you" that lies at the base of our economic links: the same day we filmed the despatch to our country of a large consignment of grapes, nuts, fruit, mineral fertilizer, and other goods that are essential for our people, which sincerely want to have a nonaligned, neutral, and non-hostile Afghanistan as its neighbor.

[Abdull Karar, identified by screen caption, in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] I am a driver with the AFSCTR company. We carry freight for our homeland and also carry them from here for you. Unfortunately, we still encounter problems, primarily security problems. In many places the situation is still difficult. On the Salang Pass itself and in other places the rebels halt the vehicles, set them on fire, and give short shrift to the drivers. They intimidate us, and, strange as it may seem, they sometimes even offer money to persuade us to refuse to work for the people's power. But I personally support it and I want to help my people.

Iran's Efforts To 'Rekindle' Lebanese War Rapped

PM1210194989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Political observer K. Geyvandov article: "Contrary to the Spirit of the Time"]

[Text] I do not like to start with a bombastic phrase, but I do not think I will be sinning against the truth if I say that the tragedy of Lebanon has today become the anguish of mankind. This is why the fact of the resumption of activity by the Arab League's committee of three and the program it has advanced for a political settlement of the Lebanese conflict, which is now into its 15th year, have been perceived with such hope. A difficult but, to judge from incoming reports, constructive dialogue among Lebanese parliamentarians is now taking place in the city of Al-Ta'if (Saudi Arabia) on the basis of the proposals of the committee of three. Everyone reckons that it will lead to compromise accords on a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

In light of what I have said, I must, regrettably, point out that certain recent statements issuing from Tehran sound a clearly dissonant note. I will repeat some of them so as to provide evidence. Here, for example, I have an appeal addressed to Lebanese Muslims on no account to agree to a compromise with Lebanon's Maronite Christians, because in that case a "very great betrayal" will be committed. Or again: Although democracy has a precise definition, the Christians do not want democracy for the Lebanese people—ignoring the fact that a majority must be the criterion for power in Lebanon. Hence these conclusions: Any decision adopted in Al-Ta'if or anywhere else which runs counter to the national will of the Lebanese people will be subjected to severe censure. And, finally, an appeal to prepare for a long struggle.

Before making my assessment of the above statements, I would like to make two comments. First, if we speak of democracy, there was more than enough of it in prewar Lebanon of all places, and that was, perhaps, one of the causes of today's tragedy. I register this as a direct witness. Second, why must the conclusion on whether particular accords among the Lebanese correspond to the "national will of the Lebanese people" now be issued in the form of a certificate drawn up in Tehran? To any unbiased observer such pretensions appear illogical to say the least, not to mention the obvious disparity with international law. On the other hand, they unerringly resemble oil poured on in order to kindle still worse interreligious enmity in Lebanon.

The conflicts ablaze in the Near East have turned the region into a veritable powder keg with an eternally smoldering fuse. You will agree that nowadays, when efforts are being made to move international relations away from confrontation to cooperation and when people are trying to extinguish regional conflicts everywhere to this end, to prolong the civil war in Lebanon, let alone rekindle it with renewed force, is unacceptable. Even more so as a peaceful settlement of the Lebanese crisis would be a serious precondition for normalizing the situation in the region.

Iran's Economic Problems, 5-Year Plan Viewed

NC1210224289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Iranian Government which has been formed by Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani has formulated its new 5-year plan for social and economic growth. This plan has to be ratified by the Majlis in the near future. Iran's mass media are assessing the 5-year plan as a document which suggests that the country is on a gradual path toward a more healthy economy. [passage omitted]

The war not only made the country's human and material resources victims of attrition, it also led to the consolidation of the stances of extremists, who supported despotic ways of administering the country and backed the policy of exporting the Islamic revolution. They spoke of providing for the interests of the oppressed, but in practice they amassed enormous wealth by means of the various Islamic charitable foundations, and closed their eyes to poverty, unemployment, and the dishonest ways of the hoarders and crooks. A black market was created, and in certain places goods which could not be obtained in the government stores were sold at outrageous prices. The hoarding of foreign exchange assumed extensive proportions. According to the TEHRAN TIMES, Resolution 598, the basis of the resolution of the political conflict between Iran and Iraq which was accepted by Iran, dealt the first blow to the hoarders. [passage omitted]

Iranian publications express doubts over the possibility of coordinating the Islamic tenets of equality with the increase in the [word indistinct] of the market which creates the various strata in society. Similarly, there is talk of the difficulties in economic growth, while monopolistic unions of the clergy under the guise of charitable foundations, such as the Foundation of the Oppressed, exist. What is beyond doubt is the fact that there is a need for a peaceful direction in the country's foreign policy and that this is a necessary prerequisite for the materialization of the 5-year plan.

A glance at the Iranian situation indicates that there is a certain resemblance to Soviet restructuring. However, there can be no absolute comparison. In the Soviet Union there is a socialistic economy and in Iran the policy is one of expediting the growth of capitalism. Nonetheless, the social atmosphere prevailing in the two countries is full of optimism, as well as chagrin and doubt, regarding the quest for new vistas of economic and social growth.

It is also a source of joy that developments are continuing in the USSR and Iran and that bilateral cooperation in various fields is being activated.

Iranian Central Bank Decision Assessed

NC1610114289 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] Dear listeners, the new steps taken by the Iranian Central Bank to improve the financial system has become the primary event in the country's current economic life. I am referring to giving entrepreneurs the opportunity to purchase foreign exchange at current prices. Commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

The U.S. dollar is the most reliable currency in Iran. Only 3 months ago the dollar's official exchange rate was between 76 and 82 rials, while its actual value on the black market was considerably higher.

This situation had at least two negative effects. First, the Iranian Government lost a considerable amount of exchange because people preferred to sell dollars on the black market. Second, hoarding and smuggling increased greatly and the positions of those involved in the unofficial and shadow economy were strengthened.

Many nouveau-riche millionaires emerged in Iran by pocketing astronomic profits from the sale and purchase of foreign exchange. Generally speaking, the smuggling of foreign exchange reserves upset the country's economic stability and exacerbated inflation and high prices.

Under these conditions, it was decided to allow Iranian entrepreneurs to purchase foreign exchange from the Central Bank at stable prices, and, at the same time, to lift the limit on the amount of foreign exchange sold.

It should be said that this decision did not surprise the experts. A few months ago, the Iranian leadership indicated its readiness to change the situation. For example, in July, a Central Bank spokesman announced that Iran would allow foreign merchants to resume financial activities related to foreign exchange. Then the government practically removed the limitations on importing foreign exchange from abroad. We should recall that formerly the importation of, dealing in, and use of foreign exchange in Iran was banned and only the government was authorized to carry out such transactions. However, with the recent decision, each Iranian citizen can now freely bring up to $5000 into the country.

Finally, following these preliminary steps, the Iranian officials resorted to decisive steps. Permitting representatives of the private sector to carry out foreign exchange transactions has become the main link of the new program. Private sector representatives can now buy foreign exchange directly from the government. The Commercial Bank's foreign exchange rates will be posted daily. Thus far, eight foreign exchange transaction branches have been opened. However, if this number is insufficient, 24 more branches will open in the near future.

Mohammad Eftekhari, managing director of the Commercial Bank, told a news conference that these steps will have a favorable affect on the country's financial system.

Eftekhari added that the country's stand on foreign exchange transactions is extremely favorable. Government experts hope that the new steps will help improve the economic situation, lead to a reduction in inflation, and stop price increases.

These steps led to chaos in the free market. The value of the dollar vis-a-vis the rial started to drop. For example, during the past few days the black market dollar rate has become almost equal to the rate proposed by the Commerical Bank, about 1,000 rials. However, prices have stayed at their former level, and, in some cases, have even increased. It is not yet clear whether the government has sufficient foreign exchange reserves to meet the needs of all importing agents. Some experts believe that the government's recent gamble is extremely risky and may have unexpected results.

It is still not known whether the government can win over the black market.

Commentary on Islamic 'Fanaticism'

NC1410170889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Iranian leaders recently confirmed in some remarks that the murder decree issued by Ayatollah Khomeyni on Salman Rushdie, British author of "The Satanic Verses," continues. It is stressed that this decreee is the manifestation of the sentiments and feelings of millions of Muslims in various countries.

Our commentator writes: The world of Islam is multifaceted. A considerable number of Muslims are still affected by religious fanaticism. Reports of terrorism and looting by Islamic extremists in various countries prove this point.

The recent execution by Saudi Arabia of 16 people accused of organizing an explosion during the Hajj in Mecca again focused world attention on assassinations under Islamic slogans. These executions were condemned by Islamic countries as well as the non-Muslim world. In Lebanon, many innocent people are the victims of conflicts between Islamic extremists. These people are killed by either car bombs, sharpshooters' bullets, or artillery shells and rockets. In Afghanistan, the intransigent opposition, which calls itself the mujahidin, perpetrates massacres and savagely attacks Afghan cities and villages with rockets and ruins the lives of many Afghan Muslims. It is interesting to note that the extremists do not stop their bloody acts even on Islamic holy days.

These examples demonstrate that those who embrace the idea of exporting the Islamic revolution receive vast social support from the Islamic world. However, many of the followers of the Prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, have accepted more civilized positions in their actions and convictions, as well as a new political view. It is sufficient to refer to the meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization's foreign ministers in March. The participants, who discussed a so-called (?logical) response to the publication of "The Satanic Verses" in Western countries, concluded that assassinations will not solve the political crisis between Islamic countries and the West.

It is true that the religious sentiments of people have been insulted. However, shedding blood in response to an insult will not solve the problem or safeguard the honor of Muslims.

The public in many Islamic countries today leans toward safeguarding Islamic honor by defending ideas from a

humanitarian and cultural standpoint, not by assassination. Moreover, each and every Islamic country has the right to prevent the spread of "The Satanic Verses" within their national boundaries.

It seems that the position of those who condemn this assassination is logical and correct. Religious fanaticism only succeeds in completely discrediting Islam and the Islamic world. The extremists only succeed in distorting the face of (?Islam) and encourage those forces in the West that are prepared to resort to instigative and aggressive measures against Islamic governments. Far-sighted people, the pride of the Islamic world, understand this fact. Najib Mahfuz, Egyptian author and Nobel laureate, and representatives of about 80 Egyptian intellectuals and cultural figures have called for an end to the scandal surrounding "The Satanic Verses." Their message stresses that the controversy over this book portends increased tensions between the world's peoples. The message also points out that the call to murder Salman Rushdie can seriously hurt Islam and all Muslims.

Syrian Chief of Staff To Visit in October'

PM1710102189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Corps General Hikmat al-Shihabi, chief of General Staff of the Syrian Armed Forces, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the second half of October this year at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

Sudan Army Buildup, Exercises With U.S. Viewed

EA1510225089 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 13 Oct 89

[From "World Events Today" Program]

[Text] While speaking in Khartoum, General Ishaq Ibrahim 'Umar, chief of staff of the Sudanese Armed Forces, announced that the country's Armed Forces has been greatly strengthened through external assistance. It has also been disclosed that 'Uthman Muhammad al-Hasan, the defense minister of Sudan, is going to visit a number of countries in North Africa to hold talks on cooperation in the military field. Our commentator, Aleksandr Mikhaylov, comments on this matter:

Among the victories scored by the new leadership of Sudan, which came to power after the 30 June coup d'etat, is the normalization of the Sudan's relations with its neighbors. There is no external threat to the security of Sudan at the moment. But the question is, why is the Sudanese Army being strengthened so rapidly? Gen 'Umar, himself, has answered this question directly. He said that Khartoum needs to strengthen and reorganize its Army to defeat the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] militarily if it was not possible to reach agreement with them. As is known, the national dialogue conference on peace has been working for over a month and, as the military regime has announced, has been assigned to work out a policy for peace in the south, which is under the control of the SPLA guerrillas. This conference replaced the constitutional committee established by the former coalition government, the establishment of which was officially supported by the SPLA leadership led by John Garang. Therefore, the difference between these two forums is clear.

While the composition of the constitutional committee was to have been made up of representatives to be sent by all the political forces in the country, the new conference was appointed by the National Salvation Revolution Command Council [NSRCC], as the military junta that now rules Sudan calls itself.

While the former committee was to have prepared a new constitution for Sudan which respected the interests of all the peoples of the country, the conference that is working currently is only empowered to propose ideas to the country's military leadership, who can either support or reject those ideas. For this reason, I think we can see why John Garang has refused to participate in the proceedings of the new conference. This can further be understood in light of the statement by the Sudanese Army chief of staff. It is very difficult to discuss peace at a time when preparations for war are being intensified.

John Garang is currently touring six African countries. He, once again, presented his organization's program for achieving peace negotiations in southern Sudan. The most important articles of John Garang's program are: to form a coalition government of national unity, followed by elections; to convene a conference to write a constitution for the country; and, the union of the government and SPLA armies. This is a meaningful program, and as reported by ZIANA, the ZIMBABWE NEWS AGENCY, John Garang's program received the support of the African leaders he met.

Khartoum, however, is now concentrating on ways of obtaining new supplies of arms, modernizing the country's Armed Forces, and planning joint maneuvers with U.S. paratroopers. All these steps are being taken at a time when the country's economy is deteriorating, rather than improving. For this reason, those who are planning the U.S. paratroopers' maneuvers should think again about the paratroopers landing on 6 million people on the fringe of starvation. Would it not be better, instead of dropping troops and weapons on this land, to drop a few sacks of food for the people from the air?

Sub-Saharan Africa

No Injuries in Aeroflot Plane Accident in Nigeria

LD1510131489 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Lagos October 15 TASS—"The passengers were swiftly evacuated and a serious danger was averted thanks to the well drilled and precise actions of the crew," the local representatives of the Soviet flag carrier Aeroflot, Robert Balasanyan, commented on yesterday's fire that forced a Soviet TU-154 liner to abort its scheduled flight to Moscow. According to Balasanyan, one of the engines broke down when it was started, a fragment must have severed a fuel mani-fold and the fuel caught fire as it spilled on the runway. The pilot immediately cut off the engines and fuel supply and this averted a potentially dangerous situation.

The 61 passengers—Nigerians, Soviets and a sprinkling of Britons—disembarked by way of inflatable emergency chutes. "There was no panic among them," the captain of the crew, 38-year-old Muscovite Aleksandr Babenko told TASS. "True, there were minor hitches like a women's high heel getting stuck. Another woman, instead of sliding down the chute with her child in her arms, sent it down first and rolling sidewise. It's okay to go down that way but I wouldn't call it comfortable. But otherwise I'm very happy to say that nobody got hurt in the slightest way. In fact, we got the passengers out so fast that there was no time for them for any emotional experiences." "The Nigerian airport authorities reacted very quickly," Robert Balasanyan said. "The fire engine was on the spot within, I believe, two minutes but the flames had already died out by them."

The passengers will be flown out by another Aeroflot plane later today. A commission consisting of officials of the Soviet Aviation Ministry, the aviation industry and the crew will now investigate the causes of the incident.

Lukyanov Receives Cameroonian Parliamentarians

PM1210122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received on 11 October a delegation of the Republic of Cameroon National Assembly headed by National Assembly President L. Fonka Schang, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, they unanimously noted the visit's importance for the development of ties between the two countries' supreme legislative organs and for the strengthening of mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cameroon.

A.I. Lukyanov described the present stage of perestroyka in the USSR and the basic avenues and progress of transformations being implemented. The Cameroonian parliamentarians were briefed on the USSR Supreme Soviet's activity aimed at the further democratization of Soviet society, the deepening of glasnost, the building of a socialist rule-of-law state, and the development of Soviet federalism. It was noted that the package of the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in the spirit of the new thinking is inseparably linked with these constructive goals, and that these initiatives pursue peace and security for all states, the constructive solution of mankind's global problems, and progress for each people. It was emphasized that parliamentarians from all countries can and must make their contribution to the positive development of international relations and the settlement of urgent contemporary problems.

The Cameroonian delegation dwelled on its country's topical political and socioeconomic tasks and the parliament's role in their implementation. Noting that the process of perestroyka, whose various aspects they saw for themselves during their stay in the USSR, is exerting a favorable influence on the general situation in the world, the guests wished the Soviet people success in the implementation of the course of renewing Soviet society's life.

During the discussion of the international situation, the participants in the conversation stated that positive trends are also gaining speed in the African continent and are promoting positive changes in the matter of disentangling conflict situations. Special attention was given to questions of political settlement in Southern Africa and the need to implement Namibia's decolonialization fully in line with the UN plan. There was confirmation of solidarity with the just struggle waged by the peoples in South Africa against apartheid, for peace, democracy, and progress.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the state of friendly Soviet-Cameroonian relations and a desire to continue improving them and giving them fresh content.

Retiring Ambassador to Madagascar Replaced

PM1510192789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Yuriy Fadeyevich Sepelev as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Pavel Petrovich Petrik from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar in connection with his retirement.

East Europe

GDR Workers Reportedly Seek 'Dialogue' With Party

PM1610185589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Workers Call for Dialogue"]

[Text] Berlin—The statement made last week by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo on the situation in the country is being extensively discussed in the GDR.

The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has published a selection of its readers' letters.

"This statement," a rolling-press operator at a metallurgical combine in Unterwellenborn wrote, "strengthens my faith in the party of the working class and its policies. In a creative dialogue with all strata of the people and through initiatives and persistent work we will be able to purposefully resolve our problems."

"I am fully in agreement with the statement. We need to conduct broad discussions on all questions and show what is changing in our country. An understanding attitude must be shown to those who express criticism. We are in favor of continuing a dialogue with them." These lines are taken from a letter from the party organization secretary at an agricultural cooperative in Genthin.

"I welcome the fact that the Politburo has issued its own statement in such a tense political situation. I and my colleagues in the factory hope that there will be constructive changes, primarily in the sphere of information policy, the population's food supply, foreign travel, and the policy of investment in industry," a worker at a furniture factory in Bernau wrote in her letter.

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Magdeburg Bezirk Committee, recently visited the Thaelmann Heavy Machine Building Combine and talked with workers there. They discussed the most serious political and social problems. The workers called for a broader dialogue between the party and the people.

Leipzig Demonstration Demands Reforms in GDR

LD1710052389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] A demonstration was held in Leipzig yesterday, the participants in which demanded the carrying out of reforms in the GDR. The ADN news agency reported that tens of thousands of people, who had beforehand taken part in services in five churches of the city, gathered for the demonstration. The news agency report notes that the police did not intervene and that there were no incidents.

Leipzig is one of several cities in the GDR where similar demonstrations have already been held this month.

Shaleyev, GDR's Tisch on Trade Union Issues

LD1610213789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1723 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), and Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, [AUCCTU], discussed on Monday the current tasks of the trade unions of the GDR and the USSR in Moscow.

During the meeting, the trade union chairman also discussed the further development of cooperation between both associations and questions of the international trade union movement. It was reported that the meeting took place in an atmosphere of comradely openness and complete mutual amity.

Harry Tisch was in the Soviet capital for a working visit at the invitation of the AUCCTU.

SED, CPSU Social Scientists Meet in Moscow

PM1610115089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Scientists' Cooperation"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of social scientists from the USSR and the GDR was held at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences 12-13 October. Reports were delivered by R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and O. Reinhold, rector of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and member of the SED Central Committee. Attention was focused on questions of forming an updated concept of socialism and the theory and practice of CPSU and SED activity in present conditions, the priority tasks arising in the period of preparations for party congresses, topical problems of the world revolutionary process, and the ways and forms of implementing the social process in the modern era.

Ways of improving cooperation between USSR and GDR social scientists on the most topical problems of the development of the social sciences were outlined, and concrete plans were formulated for the exchange of scientific collectives.

PPR's Mazowiecki on Internal Reform, Soviet Ties

90UI0025A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 41 11 Oct 89 p 15

[Report on interview in Warsaw with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, by APN correspondent Aleksandr

Bondar, especially for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "Poland: An Opening Again"; date, occasion not specified]

[Text] The meeting with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was scheduled for 6 o'clock in the evening. At 1750 I entered the hall of the House of the Council of Ministers on Uyazdowska Avenue, explained the purpose of my visit to the duty officer who was standing behind a little table with a telephone, and out of habit I reached into a pocket for documents, but he shook his head, did not look at my identification card, and told me to go to the second floor.

Somewhat surprised by such a simplified inspection procedure (new trends), I recalled, while going up steep stairs, everything I had had occasion to read and hear about the first noncommunist premier of the socialist country, a government in which communists occupy a total of four seats out of 24. Mazowiecki, who is 62 years old and educated as a lawyer, supported the just born "Solidarity" and became the editor of its weekly. He was interned during martial law. He is a widower and has three sons. He was confirmed premier of the country at a meeting of the Polish parliament on 24 August after Czeslaw Kiszczak, a member of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], retired from the post—he was unable to form a cabinet. Mazowiecki, a believer, needed 3 weeks for this: He even ended his program speech with an appeal to God...

I was met on the second floor by a young person from the government's press office who said it was possible the premier would be detained a couple of minutes—he was busy. And generally he works until 0200 hours, he gets very tired, and, therefore, he requests that the interview not be long.

The premier was 6 minutes late. Apparently from habit that remained from the time that not many knew his face, he greeted me and gave his name. In general, he did not give the impression of a person who was comfortable in his new position, and when I asked him whether he was tired from the conventions of protocol, he answered immediately and candidly: "But who wouldn't get tired of that!"

[Bondar] What, nonetheless, is taking place today behind the walls of the Council of Ministers building? What is Poland like today: socialist or something different? And, in the opinion of the premier of the country, what should it be.

[Mazowiecki] I would prefer to avoid ideological categories. They simplify things too much, but life is considerably richer and more complicated, and if we squeeze it forcefully into some kinds of rigid patterns, this will not accelerate a resolution of the problems facing Poland. First, we want to pull the country out of crisis, and this requires that we put the economy of Poland on a marketing track. Second, we have to restructure the state so it no longer is a state with one party, but that it becomes a state of all of the people, with numerous actively functioning political institutions that are free and legal.

Do not think we are getting rid of all social values that exist today: They are also dear to us. But I doubt that these values could have been realized in the situation of hopelessness, decay, and disintegration of the economy that we now have in the country.

[Bondar] Today if you believe sociological polls, a substantial part of the Polish public supports the new government. But at first the earlier government of communist Mieczyslav Rakowski also had some support. However, within less than a year he had to leave the post of premier: The hopes were not justified, and Poland sank deeper into the quagmire of crisis. Do you think you have a large vote of confidence?

[Mazowiecki] With respect to the degree of confidence, you have to ask people "on the street," and they will answer more precisely. It seems to me that definite support of the new government is linked with the hope that it will be able to resolve those two tasks about which I just spoke. The system of authority that existed earlier was powerless to do this. A new system of government was required where all political forces have a right to vote, and not just one kind of party. The present vote of confidence is based on the understanding that only through joint forces and common responsibility can the country be led out of a dead end street. Our political life is quite variegated and stormy, but the present government was supported in parliament by all of the forces represented in it. Thus, the grounds for joint actions finally appeared.

[Bondar] Will you have this vote of confidence for long? Each new day starts with reports of price increases and a shortage of commodities. Is even a little, but tangible, success possible in the near future? And if yes, then where?

[Mazowiecki] It would be rash to promise people a speedy way out of the catastrophic situation that has set in. I am not confident that we will be able, let us say, to set a more abundant table in 6 months. But if in a half year the people sense that we are headed in the right direction, the vote of confidence will continue.

The difficulty, in particular, is that we have to curb the financial crisis and withdraw "idle" money from circulation for which there are no commodities. Therefore, prices rise. Such decisions are unpopular, but I see no other way.

An important economic task for us, for example, is the elimination of the monopoly on the purchase of agricultural products. The peasants do not willingly sell meat, let us say, at artificially low prices, and as a result store shelves are far from being full, demand is not satisfied, and the free prices for meat items have already exceeded all reasonable limits. I think the people will feel the first

results of our efforts here, although, of course, not immediately, and they will have to wait a little.

[Bondar] It is axiomatic that without outside help Poland will not be able to get out of the crisis. The press reports that Poland would like to receive help from the West this year in the sum of a half billion dollars. Also mentioned was a figure of $3.5 billion as a minimum necessary for the improvement of the economy. What is more, Poland still owes $39 billion... How realistic is getting credit? The previous government was not successful. True, the attitude of the West toward your cabinet is different. Will this help?

[Mazowiecki] We hope our problems are understood not only in the West—because Poland also owes the Soviet Union.... Without an easing of the debt burden, we will not be able to do much, as is also the case without new credits, however. We also understand very well that no one will give dollars "for free," and that they can be acquired only under specific Polish plans for radical reforms that will satisfy future creditors, for example, the International Monetary Fund. It seems to me that we can count on a qualitatively new approach to our problems by the West. But for us, it is vitally necessary that this takes place as fast as possible. And, I repeat, we would like very much to count on understanding on the part of our Eastern neighbor....

[Bondar] There is more frequent talk in Poland at the domestic level that economic cooperation with the USSR is not advantageous to Poland and that this is one of the causes of the crisis. "Solidarity"—and you have belonged to it since the very beginning—assessed cooperation with the USSR very negatively, especially in the first years of its existence. In my opinion, its assessment was too one-sided....

[Mazowiecki] We saw the problem differently. It is sometimes said in Poland that you are looting us, and it is said in your country that you are maintaining us. The problem has to be studied in the most careful way, and conscientious answers have to be given to all questions. If a trip to Moscow was a prospect for me as premier, I would carefully analyze questions of our cooperation in order to have an objective point of view. As I understand it, the main difficulty here is in the system of mutual accounts, and they are entirely different than that in our contacts with the West.

[Bondar] But, incidentally, is your trip to Moscow being planned?

[Mazowiecki] I have not officially received an invitation to visit Moscow. If there is one, I will go, of course.

[Bondar] What is your attitude toward the Warsaw Pact and Poland's participation in it?

[Mazowiecki] Our position is as follows: Military alliances should be involved in questions of foreign policy and in no case in the internal affairs of the participating countries. In my opinion, this is in keeping with the main principles of international relations. We are living at a time when military-political alliances are finally starting to become a kind of element of the future whose principle is a world open to everyone.

[Bondar] Your attitude toward CEMA? Does Poland see prospects for its participation in the council, or will all attention be concentrated on the closest possible cooperation with the "Common Market?"

[Mazowiecki] Relationships in CEMA are stirring up criticism on the part of the participating countries. A lot has to be changed. But I declare: Cooperation with socialist countries is an important question.

[Bondar] A campaign of settling with the past has intensified in the mass media in Poland. Unfortunately it has a distinct anti-Soviet cast. Very frequently since 1939, accusations were made against the Soviet Union regarding one or another misfortune in Poland. What is this? An accident or normal?

[Mazowiecki] The appearance of an unintentional anti-Soviet emphasis is connected with the elimination of the "blank spaces" in our relations. Official untruth reigned for many years. Now the barriers have collapsed, and it is natural that the first reaction is that a part of society has, as you said, a "certain cast." It is very important, however, not to go beyond certain limits, so that the people would not concentrate on a reciprocal exchange of claims.

We are neighbors; that is the geography and no kind of miracle will carry Poland, let us say, to the moon. It is on this basis that we have to build our relations. General DeGaulle said in his time that geopolitics can also be changed. What the geopolitical situation looks like when hostility exists between neighbors is one thing, and it is quite another thing when normal relations prevail, and not only official relations. It seems to me that the time has come to change the geopolitics in Europe. I repeat: None of us will resettle on the moon.

[Bondar] The opinion is sometimes heard in Poland that the Soviet Union should make up for the moral and material damage caused those citizens of the PPR [Polish People's Republic] who were deported to the USSR in 1939-1941 from the present western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia—before the war they were part of Poland and were occupied by the Red Army in September of 1939. How do you feel about this?

[Mazowiecki] You see, I believe that every fact which, figuratively speaking, could help heal the open wounds in our relations has a positive meaning. And not only today, but in the future as well. What can be done specifically, and how, now depends on mutual contacts, conversations, and discussions.

[Bondar] It is not easy to forecast events in Poland. Could it happen that the premier from "Solidarity", to avoid chaos in the country, will turn to the president—a member of PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]—and

ask permission for the employment of emergency measures to overcome the situation?

[Mazowiecki] I will never agree to this, and I would sooner retire.

[Bondar] The Polish press has published information on the social and domestic conditions of members of the new government. It reported, in particular, that the premier lives in a two-room apartment....

[Mazowiecki] The information is inaccurate: I have a three-room apartment. I will add that I have a car—a Yugoslav "Zastava"—and a color television set. The information over the radio that it is black and white, as you see, is also inaccurate.

[Bondar] Now that you are premier, will you change apartments?

[Mazowiecki] I would not want to do this in principle. I have been living in this house for 30 years now, and I know all of the neighbors. One thing is bad—the house stands on a very noisy main street, on Marszalkowska. Perhaps I will have to change my apartment at some time in order to be able to work in quiet. But I have not given this any special thought. Incidentally conditions for normal living and work have to be arranged as soon as possible for some ministers who are not from Warsaw.

[Bondar] Do you have time for rest now?

[Mazowiecki] I was able to take a walk in the woods once. But only once, even though I like to rest in the woods, near water. I hope that my life as premier will still return to normal, and that it will not be necessary to sit here at night. When a person is surrounded only by paper, he loses the ability to look at a situation and himself in a detached way. I hope I have not yet lost this ability, but one has to be very attentive; it is very easy to cross the line.

[Bondar] You have three sons. What do they do?

[Mazowiecki] Two are historians and the youngest is a motor vehicle mechanic. The middle son is writing a thesis for his diploma. The eldest has already completed his and has even succeeded in publishing a book, a very interesting one, in my opinion. I like to talk to them, their views and convictions are close to mine, but we also argue inasmuch as we represent different generations.

[Bondar] You were engaged in journalism for many years. What kind of question would Mazowiecki the journalist ask Premier Mazowiecki?

[Mazowiecki] I do not know. Very likely, the main thing would be to present to the Soviet reader our approach to relations between Poland and the USSR, and our position on fundamental questions. Reality is such that a noncommunist premier heads a coalition government. And this government would like to start a period of normal and friendly cooperation with your side, relying not only on official relations, but also on relations between nations and people. I am confident that not only the Communist Party, but other political forces as well, can and should guarantee good relations between neighbors.

Polish Coverage of Rakowski Moscow Visit Viewed

PM1710101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "For the Rapprochement of the Two Peoples"]

[Text] Warsaw—The working visit to Moscow by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev has generated quite understandable interest in Poland. If for no other reason than that the leader of the Polish Communists came to the Soviet capital in a different capacity this time. Having ceased to be the ruling party, the PZPR is now engaged in its own reformation and preparation for the 11th congress, which is to adopt a new program and statutes that are in keeping with the image of a party of the Polish left, a democratic socialist party.

How would M. Rakowski be met in Moscow? How would the course of decisively transforming the party pursued by the PZPR leadership and its reformist forces be seen? Reports from Moscow prepared by correspondents of PAP, Polish television, and the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU, and other newspapers' own commentaries have shown that the meeting in the Soviet capital yesterday was cordial and businesslike and the expectations of those who thought that its status would be somewhat different and diminished have not been borne out at all.

However, the newspapers do stress that the conversation between the PZPR Central Committee first secretary and the Soviet leader was quite different than previous ones. "Because," ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes, "times and circumstances are different now and they necessitate that Polish-Soviet relations stop being regarded solely as a party matter. The appreciation of this necessity expressed by the interlocutors is of profound significance, and the consequences of this, which is particularly important, will be substantial not just for the PZPR and the CPSU."

The newspaper reminds its readers of the telephone conversation held between M. Rakowski and M.S. Gorbachev in August, a time when the political situation in Poland was changing radically. "The Soviet leader's understanding of the thrust of the changes taking place in our country expressed at that time and now confirmed forms a substantial element of the new political mosaic taking shape," ZYCIE WARSZAWY stresses.

Polish newspapers are drawing attention to the similarity between Soviet perestroyka and the Polish reforms, noting that M.S. Gorbachev is stressing the same things

as the the new Polish Government, which favors rapprochement between the Polish and Soviet peoples. TRYBUNA LUDU has described in detail the meeting between the two leaders and M. Rakowski's press conference in Moscow, noting that M.S. Gorbachev expressed full understanding of the complex situation in Poland and spoke with approval of PZPR policy toward the Mazowiecki government and its efforts to overcome the economic crisis. "I think that Polish-Soviet relations should be distinct from interparty relations in the sense that they are of significance for all the people," the newspaper quotes M. Rakowski as saying, "and should remain the focus of attention regardless of who heads the government."

And one other important statement by M. Rakowski which gives his impressions of the conversation with the Soviet leader: The CPSU sees the Polish party as a very close ally and will support all its initiatives aimed at strengthening the party's weight and authority in society.

Addressing a press conference in Gdansk, L. Walesa stated that the reforms being carried out in the country are not aimed against Poland's socialist neighbors. Freeom, pluralism, and progress are the crux of them. We are not taking anything from anyone, he said, we seek only only to equalize economic levels in order to eventually break down borders and build a new Europe.

The newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA—organ of the political forces connected with Solidarity—has treated the PZPR Central Committee first secretary's visit in a very restrained way. It has devoted two dozen lines to it, mainly composed of quotations.

Moscow TV Reports Protests Outside Polish Sejm

LD1310215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Yu. Ulyanov report from Warsaw]

[Text] [Ulyanov] These are people of the most diverse political views who have been brought here to the Polish Sejm by need and by the looming threat of starvation. [video shows demonstrators holding banners outside Sejm]

[First demonstrator, to Ulyanov in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] We pensioners do not want the charity handouts promised by the state while we can see others earning millions.

[Second demonstrator to Ulyanov, in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] In Poland today a mother of two or three children is not in a position to buy even butter for them.

[Ulyanov] These people here beneath the blue flags are representatives of the National Trade Accord. This trade union, articulating the view of a considerable portion of the working class, considers that the government has failed to take into account their legitimate interests by submitting the draft law on indexation for scrutiny by the Sejm, which is just about to begin its sitting.

Actually the word "indexation" entered the local political lexicon back in the Spring during the roundtable meeting. At the time Solidarity insisted that in the interests of the working people indexation must be introduced, namely every quarter, along with any possible growth in the price index, everyone should have an equal and corresponding pay increase. It sounded fine, but no one in Solidarity circles at the time realized that this levelling-out might put a brake on labor productivity growth and provide an inflationary stimulus. And then there has been a wave of strikes. Those who were able to have secured themselves a pay raise, so should not all the others now be given the same raise? Hence the displease of the trade unions and of the whole of society over the law on indexation. Solidarity has ended up in a tight spot: it was easy to be a critic of the government, but it's much harder once in power to find measures to save the country from ruin. As always in Poland, there is no shortage of ready solutions. Solidarity's organ GAZETA WYBORCZA, for instance, has entitled one of its articles "An Anti-Socialist Dictator is Essential". The law was given its first reading in the Sejm today and will probably be voted on on Monday.

Zaykov Meets With Warsaw Counterpart 11 Oct

PM1310113989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee, met with J. Kubasiewicz, member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Warsaw Party Committee, who is paying a working visit here as part of a PZPR Central Committee delegation, 11 October.

In the course of a cordial and friendly conversation they discussed the tasks facing the communists of Moscow and Warsaw at the present stage in the renewal of socialist society and the prospects for further deepening cooperation between the fraternal countries' capitals.

Yazov Greets Poland's Siwicki on Army Jubilee

PM1210140789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov anniversary greetings to Polish counterpart F. Siwicki]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Florian Siwicki, Polish Minister of National Defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I send you and all Polish servicemen sincere

congratulations on the 46th anniversary of the creation of the Polish People's Army.

Developing and strengthening its glorious traditions, the Polish People's Army fulfills its tasks with honor and displays supreme combat proficiency, vigilance, and organization. Soviet soldiers express confidence that the relations of friendship and close collaboration linking our armies will continue to reliably serve the cause of consolidating the Warsaw Pact states' combat alliance in the interests of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

I wish the men of the Polish People's Army further successes in their hard noble combat labor aimed at safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of their homeland.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR Minister of Defense

Polish Attache Writes on Army Jubilee

PM1310103989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Brigade General A. Czernow, Army, Navy, and Air Force attache at the Polish Embassy in the USSR, under the rubric "Today Is Polish Army Day": "Born of Battle"]

[Excerpts] The combat path of the Polish People's Army began 12 October 1943—40 years ago—on Belorussian soil, near the village of Lenino, in battles between the T. Kosciuszko First Infantry Division, which formed part of the 33d Army, and the Hitlerite invaders.

In terms of significance this event far exceeded the purely military framework. The whole world was shown that a new Polish Army had emerged on the Eastern Front, which was crucial for the fate of World War II. Allied with the United States, this army began the struggle to liberate Poland from the Hitlerite occupiers. [passage omitted].

Today the Polish Army is a modern army, well-trained to defend the country and for operations within the Warsaw Pact. This has been achieved by considerable effort. Throughout the postwar years Polish soldiers and officers strove by persistent daily work and political-civil and combat training to ensure that the Polish Army became a highly-skilled and reliable army of a new type. A very great deal was done and is now being done in the sphere of patriotic and international education for our soldiers, ensigns, and officers. Here I must stress the great educative role of the party and also youth organizations.

The Polish Army enjoys great public respect among the Polish people. Whenever necessary, whenever disaster strikes, it always rushes to help the population and at these moments soldiers take up the most dangerous areas, where supreme responsibility, organization, and energy are needed.

Along with the training and educative work, the organizational structure of the Polish Army is geared toward boosting combat readiness and also strengthening the country's defense capability. This stems from the fundamental principles of our defensive doctrine and that adopted jointly by the Warsaw Pact.

Together with our friends, particularly in the Soviet Union, we advocate peace and disarmament. The Polish peace initiatives and the well-known "Jaruzelski Plan," which proposes reducing confrontation between armed forces in Europe, confidence-building, and the evolution of military doctrines toward sufficient defense, are an example of this. At the same time we know that the threat still exists all the same, although it has considerably lessened. Let us remember that while adopting decisions on cuts and changes in the structure of the Polish Army, we must maintain it at a sufficient quantitative level and high quality to guarantee our security within the framework of the allied Warsaw Pact.

1939 Red Army Invasion of Poland in 'Context'

90UM0003A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 First Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Colonel R. Savushkin, doctor of historical sciences professor: "Returning to September 1939"]

[Text] For almost a half century the deployment of Soviet troops on the territory of Poland in September 1939 was categorized simply as a liberation campaign of the Red Army. The new political thinking and the salutary process of ridding our historical concepts of the stereotypes of Stalinism make it possible in many ways to look into those distant days in a new and more thorough way.

After being compelled to bind itself to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet leadership within as little as a week—with the attack of Germany on Poland—found itself in a dilemma. Either it was necessary to recognize the war on the part of Poland as a just and national liberation war, which it was in reality, and then help the victim of aggression, thereby violating the treaty with Germany. As a last resort, one could assume a benevolent neutrality with respect to Poland. Or the war could be called imperialistic, a war for the revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and its results awaited. In this instance, the Soviet leadership, not violating the treaty relations between the USSR and Germany, could await the full conclusion of military operations and the capitulation of the government of Poland, or, leaving them the borders of their country and in accordance with secret protocols, deploy Soviet troops onto Polish territory, not burdening itself, as it then seemed, with a violation of international rights. However, there were moral costs in this approach as well. The Soviet Union, which just yesterday had fought persistently for the creation of a system of collective security, would have appeared in the eyes of world public opinion to be an accomplice of a fascist aggressor...

At the time of the signing of the treaty with Germany Stalin still could not have understood the vulnerability of his position. It was not accidental that he at that time crossed out from the preamble the thesis about friendship with the fascist state. All of his subsequent behavior represents a maneuvering between the poles of this dilemma. First of all, he made an effort in diplomatic channels to arouse the interest of the governments of England and France in continuing the military negotiations that were disrupted in the latter part of August, and he even proposed a date for their renewal—30 August. The feelers he sent out, however, proved to be ineffective.

Afterwards there were instructions to demonstrate the readiness of the Soviet Union to assist Poland in its opposition to Germany. On 27 August, K. Voroshilov gave an interview in which he let it be known that the USSR did not exclude the possibility of deliveries to Poland of "raw materials and military materials" without signing a mutual assistance pact with the latter. A logical extension of this announcement was the visit of the political representative N. Sharonov to Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Yu. Beck on 2 September, at which time the question was asked: Why does not Poland ask the USSR for help with the supply of weapons?

Implementation of the first alternative required appropriate conditions and a lot of time. First of all, it required the effective resistance of Poland, the active participation on the part of England and France in the war, and the shift of military operations into a prolonged war channel. In this case, Stalin would have had the opportunity to withdraw from the pact of 23 August and take the side of Poland. That is why the Soviet leadership counted on the prolonged war variant most of all.

Just the opposite was advantageous for the fascist leadership—that Soviet troops enter Polish territory as early as possible. It could have been assumed: In this case, the Hitlerites were counting on the fact that the Western powers in such an event would declare war on our country and that it automatically would be faced with the need to share the blame with Germany.

On 3 September, Ribbentrop sent a query to Molotov concerning the contemplated periods of entry of Soviet troops onto Polish territory. Taking his time, it was not until 5 September that Molotov replied that "it will be done at the appropriate time." On 8 September, there was a new query. Molotov reported: Soviet troops will move forward in several days...

Stalin and Molotov followed developments in the West with keen attention. Hopes for a prolonged war and the implementation of the first alternative were dwindling. The threat of swift defeat hovered over Poland. Political representative Sharonov, who in the beginning offered military assistance on behalf of the Soviet Government, began to drag out a decision of the question.

Passive anticipation of the development of events on the Soviet side was excluded. And not just because the German-Polish war was taking place in the immediate proximity of our borders. Because of the necessity to express its attitude toward the war unequivocally, the Stalinist leadership still urged the obligations under the same pact of 28 August. And this position was stated: The war was determined to be an imperialistic one from both sides, and the Polish Government was declared to be the chief culprit.

This was a gross political mistake. The fatal role, it seems, was played here, on the one hand, by a tendency born under conditions of capitalist encirclement to see a potential enemy in every state with a different political system, and, on the other hand, extreme dissatisfaction with the policy of the ruling circles of Poland, and its hostility with respect to the Soviet Union.

A substantial negative role was also played by the 1934 German-Polish agreement on nonaggression, Poland's seizure in 1938 of Teschen Silesia which earlier belonged to Czechoslovakia, the Polish government's rejection of political and military cooperation with the USSR in May of 1939, and other factors. Also an important factor was the permission by the Stalinist leadership to employ amoral means and methods in international relations "in the interests of security"—secret agreements, ultimatum-like military and political interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and inconsistency and hypocrisy in diplomatic relations.

On 7 September, "a concealed mobilization" of military reservists was begun for the "conduct of a great war" under the code name of a "large periodical training muster." On 14 September, by a directive of the People's Commissar of Defense, the troops were assigned the task towards the end of 16 September of assembling and getting ready to cross the border.

The scale of the mobilization under way was explained by the uncertainty of the Soviet leadership about whether the Hitlerites, in the event that events developed successfully for them, would stop on a line of the Pisa, Narev, Wisla, and San rivers, which had been established by a secret protocol. These misgivings, judging by German documents, were warranted. Another series of questions also disturbed our leadership: When to move Soviet troops onto Polish territory, how to explain this move to the Soviet people and the whole world, and in what form to preserve the Polish state?

These questions had to be answered almost immediately, inasmuch as operational control of Polish forces was virtually lost by 12 September, and on 16 September the Polish government, having lost the capability for leadership on a countrywide scale, moved to the Polish-Romanian border. However, the capitulation of the army and the government did not follow. The Soviet leadership had to find some kind of new political scheme. There was no time left. The situation demanded

the urgent adoption of a decision on moving troops onto the territory of Poland. Otherwise, the USSR risked finding itself confronted by the movement of German fascist troops toward our western borders in the next several days.

The initial attempt to justify the entry of the Red Army by the threat of the seizure of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia by German soldiers met with objection by the German side. In the end, it was stated in a note of the government of the USSR to the Polish ambassador in Moscow on 17 September that "Poland was transformed into a convenient field for all kinds of incidents and surprises that could create a threat to the USSR. Therefore, although hitherto neutral, the Soviet Government can no longer treat these facts in a neutral way."

Other arguments were found for the Soviet people and soldiers of the Red Army. However, the consequences of an incorrect assessment of the character of Poland's war against Hitlerite Germany were felt here as well. Thus, the order of the commander of the Ukrainian Front, given before the movement of the troops, indicated that "the Polish Government of landowners and generals involved the people of Poland in a risky war." An order of the military council of the Belorussian Front of 16 September spoke about the fact that "the rulers of lordly Poland threw our Belorussian and Ukrainian brothers into the meat grinder of a second imperialist war." The Poles, as in the years of the First World War, were called on to transform the imperialist war into a civil war, and to turn "their weapons against the landowners and the capitalists." All of this was contrary to the Leninist proposition about just and unjust wars.

In the order of the commander of the Belorussian Front, issued on 15 September, the political program with which Soviet soldiers entered Polish territory was drawn up as follows: First, "to assist the rebellious workers and peasants of Belorussia and Poland in overthrowing the yoke of the landowners and the capitalists"; second, to prevent the seizure of Belorussian territory by Germany."

It is beyond belief why there is not even a mention here about the fact that Western Belorussia was torn away from Soviet Russia in 1920 and that the Western Ukraine was forcefully annexed to Poland after the dissolution of Austro-Hungary and the formation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. Probably this fact was omitted because of haste. Starting on 14 September, an attempt was seen in everything to begin an offensive, to move out to the boundary of the established demarcation line in order not to let the German troops cross it and move farther to the east.

Within a day, the tasks of the troops were specified: To save the Ukrainian and Belorussian people from the threat of devastation and massacre on the part of the enemies. This same order contained a provision that disposed Soviet soldiers to a peaceful resolution of the assigned task: "We are going not as conquerors, but as liberators of our Belorussian and Ukrainian brothers and the workers of Poland."

At the start of the campaign, it was not clear to the Red Army command how the Polish Army would conduct itself. Hence, the contradiction of the instructions on the nature of troop operations. On the one hand, the order was given "to defeat the lordly-bourgeois Polish forces with a lightning and crippling blow." On the other hand, instructions were issued "to avoid bombardment of cities and towns," and not to allow "any kind of requisitioning and arbitrary procurement of provisions and fodder in the occupied areas." A command was issued to large units [soyedineniye] and units [chast] to avoid the use of weapons as much as possible.

In the meantime, events were unfolding rapidly. On 14 September, German troops captured Brest. On 16 September, they reached the line Radin-Lubartov-Lublin-Krasnystav-Zamosc-Tomaszov-Gorodok-Drogobych. Polish defense was disorganized, control was lost, and the state system was virtually destroyed. The was a threat of a nonstop movement of German troops beyond the line established by the secret protocol. However, our command authorities could not move out immediately: In the Far East, the conflict with Japan continued to smolder. It was only on 15 September that an agreement was signed in Moscow between the USSR, the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic], and Japan on the cessation of the conflict in Khalkhin-Gol, according to which, starting at 1400 hours on 16 September, military actions came to an end. After receiving this information, Stalin finally decided to issue instructions to take the field.

It began on 17 September at 0500 hours. Participating in the campaign was a part of the troops of the specially created Ukrainian Front (the commanding general was Army Commander 1st Rank S. Timoshenko) and of the Belorussian Front (Army Commander 2d Rank M. Kovalev), with an overall numerical strength of about 600,000 men. The cipher communications transmitted by the troops of the Belorussian Front indicated that the large units "not encountering any resistance, crossed the border." A similar report appeared at 1600 hours 30 minutes: "The continuing forward movement of troops did not encounter any opposition." The population of Komaysk greeted the Red Army with the shouts: "Long live Soviet authority!" The same kind of situation was observed on other axes as well.

The local population greeted the Red Army as a liberator—with bread and salt hospitality, flowers, and red flags. Spontaneous meetings cropped up everywhere in support of the campaign. By 25 September Soviet troops moved 250-350 kilometers forward. There essentially were no major battles with Polish detachments. A substantial role was played in this by a 17 September order of Marshal Smigly-Rydz: "Do not engage the Soviets in battle, and resist only in the event... of attempts to disarm our units... Units that have been approached by

the Soviets must begin negotiations with them for the purpose of withdrawing our garrisons to Romania and Hungary."

And the actions of our troops also did not incline the Poles to hostility. As was written by General Vatslav Stakhevich, chief of staff of the commander in chief, the Polish units "were disoriented by the behavior of the Bolsheviks, because on the whole they avoid opening fire, and their commanders assert that they are coming to the aid of Poland against the Germans." He indicates further: "On the whole, Soviet soldiers are not firing, they deliberately treat our soldiers with sympathy, they treat them to cigarettes, etc, repeating everywhere that they are coming to the aid of Poland."

We, of course, are not at the point of depicting this campaign as idyllic. Serious skirmishes took place with individual army subunits and the gendarmes. In all, at the conclusion of the campaign on 29 September, our losses numbered 737 persons dead and 1,826 wounded. Polish losses in clashes with Soviet units were about the same.

After a certain time passed, the western border of the USSR was established approximately at the so-called Curzon Line, which was recognized at one time by England, France, the United States, and Poland. In October of 1939, elected people's assemblies of Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine proclaimed Soviet rule, and in November, the USSR Supreme Soviet complied with their request to be included within the structure of the USSR and and to be reunited with the peoples of Belorussia and the Ukraine.

Today one encounters various judgments in the press about the events of 17-29 September. It seems to me that it would be more proper to examine them in the general context of the Soviet policy of that day, which was characterized by known discrepancies. It is hardly possible to deny seriously the positiveness of the fact that the Ukrainian and Belorussian population of Poland fled fascist occupation in 1939 and was able to join up with the fraternal Soviet people. The reaction of the West is characteristic in this sense. LLoyd George, in connection with a campaign against the USSR that was started in Polish emigre circles, wrote to the Polish ambassador in London that the USSR occupied "territories which are not Polish and which were taken by force by Poland after the First World War..." And further: "It would be an act of criminal madness to place the Russian advance on the same plane with the advance of Germany."

However, we cannot disregard the fact that all of this occurred in conjunction with a secret protocol signed with a fascist leadership on the basis of an untrue assessment of the nature of the war. Bringing freedom from fascist occupation to the population of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, the Soviet Union simultaneously incurred substantial moral costs in the eyes of democratic forces. But while the Polish public greeted the campaign guardedly, the Ukrainian and Belorussian population regarded the Red Army as a liberator.

History does not require excuses after the fact. It only requires objectivity, honesty, and an effort to see more than appears on the surface. The very same treatment is required of those fast-moving 12 days of September 1939.

Szuros Meets Party, State Leaders in Uzhgorod

LD1410185889 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Uzhgorod, October 14 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, arrived in Sub-Carpathia on Saturday. In Uzhgorod, Mr Szuros met with party and state leaders in the headquarters of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Sub-Carpathian territorial party committee. He informed his hosts on the changes taking place in Hungary, and said: Hungary is interested in the success of Gorbachev's policy, and strives for a relationship of confidence with the Soviet Union, even if Hungary's internal life is undergoing changes.

Discussing the situation of minorities, Mr Szuros said that the handling of fundamental human, national and minority rights has taken on an international character by today. He designated as a basic task of the nations to ensure the individual and collective rights of the minorities. What is taking place here, said Mr Szuros referring to the Hungarians living in Sub-Carpathia, is important, and is due to the renewing policy of the Soviet Union and the efforts of the Hungarians. The conditions here have recently become more favourable to foster ethnographical traditions, the language and history, and we sincerely welcome this, Mr Szuros said.

In the following, the speaker of parliament visited the Hungarian Sciences Centre of Uzhgorod. [as received] The institution, to be inaugurated in mid-November, aims at providing assistance to the development of Hungarian culture.

On 'Collective' Rights of Minorities

LD1510201589 Budapest MTI in English 1818 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, termed the possibility offered by Gorbachev's policy for the Hungarian population of Sub-Carpathia to preserve its national identity as exemplary.

After his Saturday visit to Sub-Carpathia, Mr Szuros said to MTI that he had held talks with Ukrainian party and state leaders. 'We agreed that not only the individual but also the collective rights of the national minorities should be enforced. Well-considered advance based on realities may lead to a kind of autonomy,' Mr Szuros said.

MSZMP Congress 'Promises To Be Historic'

90UI0012A Moscow TRUD in Russian
4 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by TRUD staff correspondent A. Komrakov: "Before the Congress"; datelined "Budapest, October"]

[Text] On 6 October, a MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress will begin its proceedings. However, it is still unknown whether it is going to be the regular 14th Congress or whether it will become the first congress of the transformed socialist party. In this country, they do not rule out the possibility of a split between the adherents of different directions of reform in the party. One thing is clear—the event promises to be historic, and the future course of Hungarian perestroyka is going to depend on it.

...At present, Hungarian magazines publish sets of items for those who like horoscopes without waiting for the Christmas bustle. In the coming year, Hungarian astrologers predict advances at work and success in love for Hungarian Gemini, Aquariuses, Leos, and Pisces. Even if there is a threat of trouble then only of the trouble that is temporary and absolutely not dangerous.

However, there are few people willing to make serious predictions about the future of the country at present. Nobody would want to promise to his fellow citizens further price increases and reductions in real income in keeping with the truth... Meanwhile, the economic situation remains difficult.

The economic situation is increasingly often described as critical. However, this should not be interpreted in too straightforward a manner: The shelves of local stores testify to the well-organized production of both foodstuffs and commonly used consumer goods. It is another matter that quite a few Hungarians cannot fully take advantage of this abundance. It is particularly difficult for the 6 percent of the populace whose income is below the official subsistence level.

The already mentioned structural changes in the economy are producing positive results as well, as shown by the volume of exports for hard currency which has exceeded the volume planned. However, a considerable share of this hard currency goes toward repaying the foreign debt which is one of the highest in the world (if counted on a per capita basis).

The ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has decided to accelerate the economic reforms, as suggested by the documents adopted at the June plenum of the Central Committee this year. Laws are being developed which will lay the foundation for a new, market-based economic model. However, there is a circumstance involved here due to which the model of reform may undergo changes in the future. After all, there is an opportunity that after the forthcoming elections to the parliament, which will be held on a multi-party basis for the first time, the MSZMP will stop being the ruling party, and will lose the monopoly on state power like the Polish PZPR [Polish United Workers Party].

They call the present time in Hungary a period of transition from the Stalin and Brezhnev-type socialism to that of a law-governed, democratic type which preserves the genuine ideals of socialism. Few of the adherents of the radical reform have doubts about whose ashes they should shake off their feet, but the specific outline of the final objective is somewhat indefinite. One can imagine how heated the discussion now unfolding in the country is taking into account that some representatives of the opposition, which is increasingly resolute in making its presence known, do not conceal hopes for the restoration of capitalism whereas so-called conservatives believe the steps already taken in the course of perestroyka in the society to be a path toward capitalism.

Let us recall that until recently a one-party system existed in Hungary, and as recently as 1.5 years ago, during the May 1988 MSZMP conference, the possibility of a multi-party system was referred to as a quite remote and not at all necessary prospect. However, this conference itself gave such an impetus to Hungarian perestroyka that within less than a year alternative parties began to appear. At present, a plurality of parties actually exists. The parliament of the country should endorse it legally very soon.

Despite different statistics being quoted and at times several dozen names [of parties] being mentioned, the exact number of the parties, which are not officially registered and do not maintain exhaustive records of their membership, is difficult to come up with. Most likely, the parties which have joined the so-called opposition roundtable (OKS) may be considered the main opposition parties. They, plus the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, were the ones to take part in the proceedings of the trilateral "roundtable" for reconciling political interests, which began in mid-June and ended recently. At the "roundtable," two other places were taken by the MSZMP and "traditional" social organizations—the Popular People's Front, the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions, unions of women, young people, and others. Participants in the talks managed to come to an understanding on draft laws concerning amending the Constitution, the criminal code, functioning and economic operations of the party, and elections of deputies to the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Hungary. A new round of talks has now begun in the course of which issues associated with economics are being considered.

Who is in the opposition, after all? The fate of the social democrats and the Smallholders Party is approximately the same. The action group for reactivating the Social Democrats stated that their party has not ceased to exist because in 1948 "only the extreme left wing merged with the Communists." The "smallholders" explained their emergence in more or less the same fashion—their party has never been officially outlawed.

By now, the Association of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) has even gained international notoriety due to tumultous episodes. Despite the union later distancing itself from the actions of its most radical members, it was exactly with the FIDESZ that a far-from-friendly demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy building in Budapest was associated. In this country, many interpret the actions of FIDESZ members at the St. Venceslaus Square in Prague, who demonstrated in August of this year their disagreement with the evaluation of the 1968 events accepted in Czechoslovakia, as an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of a neighboring state.

After all, there is a reason why they say here that only after the elections it will become clear who is who and which party stands for what.

Profound perestroyka in the society which was, in essence, initiated by the MSZMP, has affected the party of Hungarian Communists itself. The party has also initiated the reconsideration of the past difficult decades with the benefit of today's hindsight; it evaluated anew its own role and responsibility. The views according to which the inevitable change in the model of socialism is equal to abandoning socialism are also present within the ranks of the MSZMP. Some groupings come out against multi-party representative democracy and the economy of a socialist type with mixed forms, and question extensive ties with the world economy.

However, these views are not considered to be quite widespread. Thus, member of the collective leading organ of the MSZMP, head of the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary Miklos Nemeth believes that two main currents have emerged in the party: One which desires a resolute break with the old model (this is where the so-called Reform Circles belong), and the other one, which is also in favor of reforms but prefers a slower route of compromises.

Chairman of the MSZMP R. Nyers who spoke recently at the Second All-Hungary Conference of Reform Circles confirmed the decision of the conference on the need to create a new socialist party which would become the heir and successor to the socialist movement in Hungary which goes back as many as 100 years. At the same time, he stressed that this party should also carry on the progressive aspirations of the MSZMP.

Through the efforts of politicians, the following metaphor has become widespread in the community of journalists as well: Hungary is not just building a bridge from its past through the present into the future, but it would also like to play the role of a bridge between the West and the East more vigorously. If we go along with this metaphor we may say that at present, on the eve of the MSZMP congress, the Hungarian society is facing one of the main crossings to its future.

CSSR, Hungary Differ Over Hydropower Project

PM1510191389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Short Visit"]

[Text] Prague, 12 Oct—The short working visit to Czechoslovakia by M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has ended. He had talks with L. Adamec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Government.

Late last night the two premiers met with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists.

L. Adamec stated that the talks were characterized by the desire of both sides to strengthen and expand the traditionally friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

M. Nemeth stressed that Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreements in the sphere of the economy and culture are being successfully fulfilled.

He noted that different opinions had been expressed on certain questions. The sides want to settle these differences of opinion in a nontraditional way and find new forms and methods of work.

In particular, concerning the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroengineering complex, the Hungarian leader stressed that Czechoslovakia believes that construction must continue according to the previously approved plan. Hungary, however, is sticking to its opinion that this would cause ecological damage to both countries and submitted concrete proposals designed to put a stop to the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroengineering complex. It was reported that another meeting between the heads of government of the two countries will take place before the end of this month.

Zaykov Attends Moscow Sunday Festival in Prague

PM1610134389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under general heading: "Moscow Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] Tens of thousands of Prague citizens came to the capital's J. Fucik Park, which was the arena for the colorful "Moscow Sunday" festival. This kind of prelude to the Moscow "Days" that opened 16 October in Prague began with a noisy cavalcade of participants through the streets of the ancient city on the Vltava and continued with speeches on numerous stages in the park by illustrious labor collectives and skilled artists from the Soviet capital.

L.N. Zaykov, who is taking part in the festival, spoke to those visiting the park—residents of the CSSR capital, people of all ages and professions. Frank conversations discussed what the people of Prague and Moscow must

do to strengthen peace on our planet, realize the tremendous constructive potential of socialism, and broaden and deepen fraternal cooperation between our countries, including the two capitals.

Then the ceremonial opening of the "Moscow—Capital of the USSR" exhibition, which relates our city's rich historic past and present and Muscovites' contribution to perestroyka, took place in the J. Fucik Exhibition Park.

The first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee had a warm conversation with activists from the Prague Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, in the course of which they stressed that the commonality of the goals of the perestroyka initiated by the two fraternal parties determines the need to pool their efforts in creating a new look for socialism.

The Soviet guests were accompanied by J. Lenart and M. Stepan, members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium.

West Europe

FDP's Ronneburger on New USSR Military Doctrine

LD1610124289 Hamburg DPA in German 1208 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—According to Uwe Ronneburger, the deputy FDP [Free Democratic Party] parliamentary group chairman, the USSR is working on a new military doctrine. Already, defensive training for officers—as opposed to offensive training—is said to be moving into first place. Ronneburger said this today in Bonn after the return of an FDP delegation from Moscow.

After his talks in the Moscow Military Academy, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in the CPSU Central Committee, he assumes that the first phase of the Vienna disarmament negotiations on conventional weapons could be concluded in the middle of 1990 with a first agreement. However, it is also necessary for the negotiations on confidence-building measures to be successful.

FRG's Brandt Arrives in Moscow for Visit 14 Oct

PM1710124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] W. Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, arrived in Moscow 14 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the airport he was met by V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee.

K. Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

Dinner Given for Brandt

LD1510183389 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—Aleksander Yakovlev, a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, gave a dinner on Sunday in honour of Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

Brandt is staying in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

SPD-CPSU Group Views 'All-European Questions'

PM0610085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Group Session"]

[Text] Bonn, 3 Oct—All-European questions were discussed by the joint working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] Bundestag faction and the CPSU Central Committee which met in Bonn on 2 and 3 October under the chairmanship of E. Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, and V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

At a press conference held here today they reported that the working group had been instructed to discuss these questions by H.J. Vogel, chairman of the SPD, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during their meeting in Moscow in April this year.

Falin Comments on Talks

LD0710163589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpts] In the FRG a meeting was held of the joint working group of the CPSU Central Committee and a faction of the Social Democratic party of Germany [SPD] in the Bundestag. Aleksandr Pozharskiy, our correspondent in Bonn, reports.

[Pozharskiy] For 2 days thorough debates have been held by the working group of the CPSU and the West German social Democrats on the most diverse issues concerning bilateral and Pan-European relations. [passage omitted]

Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, the leader of the group on behalf of the Soviet side, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said when he spoke to journalists that the intensive debates we held, in a way, point to a new quality of cooperation between our parties on most important topical and long-term problems of European and international

development. It is quite normal that on some issues, our parties held differing views. The constructive and lively nature of these discussions has once again shown, however, that this form of cooperation is necessary and one ought to continue it in the interests of both sides and in the interests of Europe's future, noted Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin.

Trade Official on Economic Links With FRG

PM1310150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with V.S. Sedov, leader of the Soviet trade bureau in West Berlin, by PRAVDA correspondent S. Zyubanov under the rubric "Topical Interview": "How Should Trade Be Conducted?"—first two paragraphs are introduction; precise date unspecified]

[Text] West Berlin, Oct—Participants in the traditional "Business Festival" of West Berlin firms and Soviet foreign trade organizations, firms, and enterprises are trying to answer this far from simple question at their sessions in Moscow 10 through 13 October this year.

Vladislav Sergeyevich Sedov, leader of the Soviet Trade Bureau in West Berlin, talked about this forum of business people in our capital and about the state of commercial ties between West Berlin and the Soviet Union in an interview with PRAVDA correspondent S. Zyubanov.

[Sedov] Our trade bureau has been in existence for 16 years. Its creation was a direct consequence of the normalization of the political atmosphere in this region after the four-power agreement on West Berlin was signed in 1971 by representatives of the USSR, the United States, Britain, and France. At present we maintain contacts with about 1,000 local businessmen. And 60 major West Berlin firms have stable trade relations with our country.

[Zyubanov] What is the total volume of West Berlin's trade with the Soviet Union today?

[Sedov] This year we have already concluded contracts totaling R230 million. Moreover, in trade we are in credit. Admittedly, energy of various kinds continues to form the basis of Soviet exports. Namely natural gas and diesel fuel. We also supply machines and various types of equipment worth R3.5 million. Soviet "Lada" cars enjoy a certain popularity here.

[Zyubanov] Is there real potential for expanding trade turnover?

[Sedov] We don't doubt it. We are aiming to involve regional organizations, which are now moving into the foreign market, in trade with West Berlin. We are proud, for example, that the "Uralmash" plant, the giant of Soviet machine building, moved into the foreign market with our assistance for the first time 2 and ½ years ago. For the present it is supplying wrought iron goods, castings, and welded structures. Now talks are being held about the possibility of supplying West Berlin with a small facility for the continuous casting of steel. Of course, in order to supply machines for export, the Uralmash workers must reach world standards.

[Zyubanov] What is imported from West Berlin and does it take into account our economy's urgent needs, primarily the food and light industries?

[Sedov] We import goods worth R60 million. They consist mainly of chemical products, machines and equipment for the food industry, fish gutting equipment, and equipment for fishing vessels. West Berlin firms also willingly take part in modernizing our light industry. The "Berlin-Konsalt" [name as transliterated] firm is building an ultramodern combine in Moscow to freeze convenience foods. One more contract has been concluded with it to supply equipment for the food industry.

[Zyubanov] Your trade bureau has outlined a new sphere of activity—the "construction sector." What is this?

[Sedov] This sphere was prompted by life itself, by the perestroyka which started in our country. Many Soviet organizations are now showing great interest in constructing industrial facilities, hotels, small brick plants, tile factories and so on. Recently we had a delegation from Leninabad, a city which earlier hadn't even thought about moving independently into the foreign market. The people of Leninabad put forward an unusual idea: to buy several small-scale brick plants, and pay for them through income from foreign tourism.

Incidentally, PRAVDA reported another example recently. A joint venture with the participation of the West Berlin firm "Wildemann and Partners" and also the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture is to erect in the Sochi region on a tight schedule a modern 700-room hotel in which tourists and sportsmen will live and rest. And the major firm "Klamp" decided to finance the construction of a fashionable hotel in Minsk.

The well-known firm "Kupmans" [name as transliterated] is holding talks about improving Professor Filatov's famous eye clinic, about constructing a laser center there, and also about modernizing some of Moscow's old rayons.

[Zyubanov] Recently our cooperative workers have increasingly started to move onto the foreign market...

[Sedov] And frankly they sometimes look plain shameful. As a rule, cooperative workers' trips abroad are unprepared and are not agreed with foreign trade organizations.

Foreign trade is not a city flea market. Here you won't sell anything "just like that," you have to learn how to trade. I would like to hope that with time natural selection will occur in this work, and only those people who really want to enrich our domestic range of consumer goods will remain in the cooperatives. They will successfully move into the foreign market as well. In

Belorussia, for example, we are already looking for business ties with cooperative workers who intend to organize on a solid basis the export of vegetables, berries, mushrooms, and various pickled foods.

[Zyubanov] Can West Berlin firms help us to organize services to the population?

[Sedov] Among entrepreneurs going to Moscow there are many representatives of construction firms who would like to hold talks with the Moscow city soviet on preserving the city's ecology and developing its infrastructure.

The "Business Festival" in Moscow will show West Berlin entrepreneurs how realistic their hopes and expectations are.

Marchais Describes French Communists' USSR Visit

PM1710115089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the French Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Paris, 13 Oct—"The relations that now exist between the French Communist Party [PCF] and the CPSU could be characterized as splendid," PCF Secretary General Georges Marchais said in his report at the PCF Central Committee plenum which has begun here. The plenum is devoted to two questions: the implementation of the decisions of the PCF's national party conference in 1988 and the report on the PCF delegation's visit to the Soviet Union.

Touching on the results of the French Communists' visit to the USSR, the PCF leader stressed in particular the total coincidence of the two parties' viewpoints on the main problems of today, and also on questions concerning the future of socialism and the situation in the Soviet Union and France, in Europe, in the world as a whole, and in the international communist movement. Speaking of the USSR's foreign policy course, he pointed to its profound renewal and the increased international significance of Soviet peace initiatives.

In the political sphere, he went on to say, major changes are taking place in the Soviet Union. A rule-of-law state is being born and new relations are springing up between the legislative and executive power. In the socioeconomic sphere decisions have been adopted in the USSR aimed, in particular, at meeting the population's housing needs and developing the service sphere and the system of medical services and education. Still more radical reforms are leading to the introduction of self-management at enterprises, the development of the cooperative movement, and the gradual transition of republics and regions to full economic accountability. Nonetheless, G. Marchais said, our interlocutors noted that they are having to deal with certain difficulties and negative phenomena. A fierce ideological and political struggle is now under way between the supporters and opponents of perestroyka. The Soviet leadership recognizes that in order to justify the population's aspirations it is necessary to adopt resolute measures in the political, economic, and social spheres.

Soviet Communists are firmly convinced of the need to continue perestroyka and build top quality socialism, G. Marchais said. The PCF fully supports these processes and the CPSU's policy and believes in the success of perestroyka, the PCF leader stressed.

Contact Between BBC, Moscow Radio Shows Proposed

PM1610074789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Oct in Russian 15 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Dialogue: You Ask the Questions!": "'Radio Intercept?'"]

[Text] *The radio newsreel "Argument" (BBC) has announced the inauguration of a new rubric entitled "You Ask the Questions!"*

And so, "Dialogue" has acquired yet another twin. This time abroad.

Even the telephone number given by our colleagues in London was exactly the same as that used by "Dialogue" in Moscow 2 months ago.

It has to be admitted that the BBC is still lagging behind in all areas. Actually, our "Dialogue" does not woo readers with material from Britain. Therefore, there are grounds for cooperation between the two synonymous rubrics. This is why we would like to forward to the BBC any questions asked by our readers about Britain. For our part, we can answer questions asked in the British Isles.

Will contact be established? Let's wait and see. Meanwhile, here is the new telephone number of KOMSOLSKAYA PRAVDA's "You Ask the Questions!" rubric: 257-26-72.

Soviet-UK Business Agreements Signed

LD1610201889 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Documents identifying high priority trends in Soviet-British cooperation were signed today, the closing day of the roundtable conference of representatives of the two countries business communities.

The three-day unofficial talks were held in a candid atmosphere and touched upon ways of developing cooperation in many areas of mutual interest.

These included joint ventures, consortiums, free enterprise zones, Soviet enterprise modernization, manager training, the development of non-polluting technologies, banking and crediting.

In conclusion, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Engineering Nikolay Laverov noted great usefulness of informal meetings and singled out some of the more important points.

The Soviet side sought to make clear to British colleagues the latest changes in the Soviet Union and the new regulatory enactments concerning economic activity in the country.

He stressed that the Soviet side viewed all forms of trade and economic collaboration with Great Britain as promising. He said, among other things, that favorable conditions for promoting mutually advantageous business relations were created by the defence industry conversion.

At the same time, Laverov pointed out that the present level of relations, above all that of trade, is not satisfactory and the sides have a long way to go before achieving sufficient mutual understanding.

At the present gathering, he said, no such understanding was evident.

Leader of the British delegation Bryan Corby said that he was leaving the Soviet Union much better informed as a result of the meeting. He called it a positive factor as "information exchange promotes interaction which, in turn, results in better understanding of each other".

The usefulness of this kind of conferences in the development of direct production and commerical contacts was noted by other representatives of the British business quarters, too.

Despite differences in their assessments of Soviet conditions for the development of trade and economic relations, the two sides agreed that the roundtable discussion was a success and marked an important step towards better mutual understanding.

They stressed the need to shift to direct contacts between producers of the two countries concerning concrete cooperation projects.

Razumov-Led Delegation Pays Visit to Zurich

PM0610104689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for cooperation between the CPSU and the Swiss Workers' Party, a delegation headed by Ye.Z. Razumov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, left Moscow for Zurich on 4 October.

On the same day the delegation arrived in Switzerland.

During the visit the Soviet party delegation will study the activity of Swiss Communists and brief them on the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, and will also participate in the annual festival of the newspaper VAUD REALITE.

Portuguese Communist Party Delegation Visits

PM0910153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], a PCP delegation headed by C. Carvalhas, member of the party Central Committee Political Commission, visited the Soviet Union 29 September through 6 October. The Portuguese comrades familiarized themselves with the CPSU's experience of work to implement the economic reform in the USSR.

There were conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic and International Departments, the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, and at CEMA. The delegation visited a radio engineering plant in Moscow.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze, Pavlov Interviewed by Chilean Paper

PY1410223089 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 10 Oct 89 pp A 1, 15

[Report on interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Latin American Department, by EL MERCURIO correspondent Mario Valle in New York; no date given]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has reported here that his government is studying the possibility of restoring diplomatic relations with Chile.

The Soviet foreign minister kindly agreed to talk to this correspondent at the end of a news conference he gave to report on the contacts he held at the United Nations with Israel Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

Although his advisers attempted to prevent him from answering questions from Chilean journalists, Shevardnadze—upon noting our presence—stopped to talk to us. As Shevardnadze spoke in Russian, he was aided by an interpreter.

Shevardnadze said: "We are currently studying the possibility of stimulating our economic ties with Chile, as a first step, although not at an official level. We are also analyzing the possibility of restablishing diplomatic relations."

Asked if this will happen following the inauguration of a new government in Chile, Shevardnadze smiled and said: "Of course, we only have to wait a little."

Later, EL MERCURIO interviewed Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry First Latin American Department.

Pavlov received this correspondent in his room at the Lyden Garden Hotel on 64th street, a few blocks from the Soviet Embassy. Compared to other hotels in this city, the Lyden Garden is quite unpretentious.

Speaking perfect Spanish, Pavlov was willing to answer our questions.

Pavlov announced that he will stay in New York until tomorrow, when he will go with Shevardnadze on a tour of Nicaragua and Cuba.

First, Pavlov noted that traditionally there were "very good" relations with Chile and that these relations were active in the economic, cultural, and political areas.

Pavlov said: "You know the history and the reasons that made it impossible to maintain these ties over a few years, but we know that quite profound changes are taking place in your country. There is a very strong trend toward restoring the democratic institutions, and we believe that we are approaching the time to start the reestablishment of normal ties with Chile."

He noted, however, that in his opinion this must be done "step by step," because "there is no reason to hurry as everything should happen naturally."

Pavlov said that the idea is first to initiate commercial and cultural contacts and then to restore political contacts, "but at present I cannot determine when will this happen."

Pavlov stated that "if the process is normally carried out and if Chile is interested in it, this may of course happen in a not-too-distant future."

The Soviet official noted that the USSR currently has no diplimatic ties with only two countries of the Latin American Southern Cone: Chile and Paraguay. He made it clear the USSR never maintained relations with Paraguay.

Pavlov also confirmed that his government received a Chilean protest over the presence of Soviet ships in Chilean territorial waters. He said that the protest was forwarded to the Ministry of the Fish Industry, which is studying the case. In his opinion, that was not a deliberate action, but just a mistake. He added that a reply will be sent to the Chilean Foreign Ministry as soon as the facts are ascertained.

[Valle] Would you be willing to reestablish relations with Chile irrespective of the government that could be elected next December?

[Pavlov] We think so. If a government is elected in Chile through democratic elections, through a free expression of the people's will, the political leaning of the new government is of no importance to us because we maintain relations with all countries regardless of their political or ideological leanings.

[Valle] Have any contacts been made to analyze this situation?

[Pavlov] We have had some contacts with members of some Chilean political parties, but not with official representatives.

[Valle] Haven't there been contacts among delegates at the United Nations? [Pavlov] We have working-level contacts with Chilean delegates within the United Nations and within several other organizations. We maintain working contacts to resolve several problems in these organizations.

[Valle] Is the Soviet position of maintaining relations with various countries, irrespective of their government leanings, part of perestroyka and of the other reforms that are now underway to the effect of showing greater liberalization concerning the ideological aspect?

[Pavlov] I would not say this is something entirely new. Throughout our history we have maintained relations with nations of diverse economic and political leanings; but today this is true more than ever before.

[Valle] What are the basic interests of the USSR regarding Chile and, on the other hand, what could Chile obtain from these relations?

[Pavlov] Our country is interested in the prospects for cooperation in the areas of the fishing industry and commercial development because, in addition to its traditional export items, Chile is a country with a well-developed industry, and we believe there are possibilities for establishing commercial ties on mutually advantageous bases.

[Valle] But there are already contacts at the private level.

[Pavlov] I think so. We have some contacts with some Chilean commercial representatives, but thus there have been no specific results.

[Valle] Yet, many Soviet automobiles can be seen in our country.

[Pavlov] That shows that there are possibilities.

[Valle] Why did the USSR maintain relations with Argentina and Uruguay while these countries were under military regimes accused of humans right violations, but not with Chile?

[Pavlov] Well, I would say that Chile is a special case.

[Valle] Why is it special?

[Pavlov] Because we also had to consider specific circumstances; the degree of anticommunism, of violence, of repression against the left; and the position of the military government regarding the USSR. You cannot separate these things when you have to decide whether to maintain relations or not. There were no possibilities of maintaining relations after 1973.

[Valle] Should it be understood then that this was a way of repaying the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] for its active participation in the Popular Unity government?

[Pavlov] That was a factor, but not the decisive one. Of course we take into account several factors in formulating our policy.

[Valle] What type of relations do the PCCh and the CPSU maintain today?

[Pavlov] I am not in charge of those things at the ministry, but I think that they maintain normal relations just like those the CPSU maintains with communist parties of other Latin American countries and of other regions. We also maintain contacts with other Chilean political parties; not only with the PCCh but also with those following diverse socialist trends and others. [as published]

[Valle] How would the Soviet Foreign Ministry respond to the charges leveed in various organizations and within Chile to the effect that the USSR has intervened in the Chilean domestic affairs and that this attitude included PCCh action jeopardizing the process to restore a democratic system?

[Pavlov] It depends of what you mean by intervention. If it means an expression of feelings by Soviet leaders and public organizations that have maintained close ties with several Chilean organizations and that have harbored great concern for the fate of many people since 1973, that is not intervention. Anyone can be interested and is entitled to express his thought. If you read the local newspapers here and those of other Western countries, you will see many comments about what is happening in our country. Although we often disagree with these comments, we do not regard them as intervention. These are expressions and, in this regard, we do not think we are intervening in the domestic affairs of Chile or of any other country.

[Valle] There are those who wonder why the USSR is now interested in resuming its ties with Chile since it has maintained relations with other governments such as that of Cuba, which is not considered democratic in Latin America.

[Pavlov] There are many differences between Chile and Cuba. The Cuban Government was formed following a popular revolution against the Batista dictatorship. If the structure of the state and the role of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] are governed by rules that do not fully conform to the rules accepted in other countries, this alone does not mean that there is no democracy in Cuba. There are other forms of expression of the people's will. Thus, we cannot accept the position that there is no democracy in Cuba.

[Valle] But, don't you consider the lack of free elections a fact that confirms this contention and a fact that is not in keeping with a democratic system?

[Pavlov] It is the people who have to decide about elections and what arrangements should be made. Cuba has never had a Western-style democracy, and it is up to the Cubans to decide whether to accept these rules. Everything depends on the thinking of the people and Governments of Cuba and of the PCC. Despite all that has been said and written on the Cuban situation, no one can deny that the ruling party, the PCC, is supported by the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people. In each country there are naturally people who do not support the government. This is also true in Cuba, but they are in the minority. When the majority of the people decides to change some structures, this will be done. Yet, the fact that they are nt changing now does not mean that there is no democracy.

[Valle] In the opinion of the Soviet Government, has the government of General Pinochet been completely negative for the country, or do you acknowledge that there have been some positive aspects?

[Pavlov] When you are talking about a regime that has been in power for more than 16 years, you must consider that the entire world is changing and that the countries are also changing. Some regimes have changed, of course. The Pinochet regime today is different from the regime of the early phase. Although it is difficult for me to determine the extent to which it has changed, it is a fact that today there can be popular expressions in Chile free of police repression; many people were even able to return without being harassed. All this shows that changes have occurred.

[Valle] What about the Chilean economic situation, which is considered to be in an oustanding position in the region? What do you think about it?

[Pavlov] Some people believe that Chile, for various reasons, has been doing better in some fields than other Latin American countries. But, this, I believe, does not depend entirely on a political regime or on ideological leanings, but on a number of objective and subjective circumstances stemming from the economic policy of a government on the policy of the private sector. It also depends on the prices of export products on the world market.

Chile's Inzunza on Campaign, Transfer of CNI

PY1610232389 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Report on telephone interview with Jaime Inzunza, United Left and Communist Party of Chile leader, by

unidentified announcer from Santiago; date not given—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The most pressing demands of the Chilean people have been brought up in the electoral campaign. One of the most important achievements of this campaign has been the combining of the campaign with the just economic, political, and social demands that the democratic forces and the popular movement have been making for these 16 years of dictatorship. These demands are related to the struggle against repression, the defense of human rights, the denunciation of crimes committed by the regime, and efforts to fight immunity and the suppression of the truth regarding torture, disappearances, and assassinations. These questions have once again come into the spotlight now that many rightist candidates are demagogically attempting to pose as defenders of human rights and since EL MERCURIO has reported that the dictator is planning to convert the CNI [National Information Center] into an agency of the Army so that the main repressive body from all these years can be under his direct control. Jaime Inzunza, leader of the United Left and the Communist Party of Chile, discusses these topics over a direct phone line from Santiago, Chile.

How are the Chilean people's demands connected to the ongoing electoral campaign?

[Inzunza] "They are connected through the democratization of the neighborhood boards during the electoral process; the strengthening of the unified actions of workers; the development of the committees for victory, which will also be committees for the defense of victory and committees for carrying on the democratic task; the development of confidence; the struggle for human rights, particularly concerning truth and justice and immunity for crimes; the increasing pressure by the immense majority of the population for the release of all political prisoners; and naturally for the dissolution of the CNI. All of these questions are being brought up in the electoral campaign, and agreements have been reached within social organizations. This was evidenced a week ago by the strike in Salvadora and by the current strike by coal miners. This proves that the people have understood that the electoral campaign has to be an expression of their activities and a way to strengthen their social organizations for the future struggle."

The preceding comments were made by Communist Party of Chile leader Jaime Inzunza, who has been interviewed over the telephone on our program "Escucha Chile." Another topic discussed by Inzunza was the EL MERCURIO report on the CNI's transfer to the Army. The dissolution of the CNI has become one of the most pressing demands of the immense majority of Chileans.

What is your opinion, Jaime Inzunza, on the dictator's intention to maintain the CNI as it is and to keep it under his direct command?

[Inzunza] "I believe that this issue is particularly serious. The intention is to maintain intact the main terrorist apparatus of the dictatorship, which has been responsible for the most flagrant violations of human rights throughout the years of its existence. I understand that the DINA [National Intelligence Directorate, replaced by CNI] and the CNI have been in fact a single apparatus and therefore the main organs of state terrorrism over the past 15 years. If transferred to the Army, the CNI would continue to be under Pinochet's orders. Under whose orders has it been all these years? For whom has it been a direct agent all these years? Henceforth it will be under the control of the office of the commander in chief of the Army."

Communist leader Jaime Inzunza added that Pinochet's intent in transferring the CNI to the Army's direct command is to make the institution an accomplice in concealing people who have been responsible for crimes and human rights violations.

[Inzunza] "The idea is to involve the military institution in crimes for which the Chilean people knows it was not responsible. This is clear: What the democratic opposition forces want is to have the culprits behind those crimes and human rights violations prosecuted, not the military institution. The transfer of the CNI to the Army is an attempt to make the men in uniform act as accomplices or accessories to those crimes. Loyalty is not at stake here; loyalty is defending values and principles, not some sort of criminal complicity that is not in line with the training of these men. This seems to me to be particularly serious because this transfer implies maintaining the CNI under the orders of the man responsible for the crimes committed all these years, the dictator himself."

These have been answers given by Jaime Inzunza, United Left and Communist Party of Chile leader, to questions put to him over the phone by "Escucha Chile," a Radio Moscow International program.

Supreme Soviet Session

Supreme Soviet Deputies on Foreign Trade 6 Oct

OW1310201789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2330 GMT 6 Oct 89

[V. Stepanyuk video report on a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs; from the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program]

[Text] A heated discussion took place today at a regular meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, which discussed the country's plan and budget for next year in the sphere of foreign economic activity. [Video shows committee members at the meeting, including IZVESTIYA editor Laptev, United States of America and Canada Institute director Arbatov, Soviet Peace Committee chairman Borovik, writer Burlatskiy, and others taking part] It was noted at the meeting that it is no secret that the state of affairs in this sphere causes serious alarm. The country's foreign debt comes to a considerable sum and is not decreasing. The export system is also unsatisfactory, as about 70 percent of it is composed of fuels [energonositel], and only 30 percent of manufacturing industry products.

The situation is aggravated by mistakes in the implementation of direct ties with foreign partners by Soviet enterprises that are unfamiliar with the situation in the foreign market, and this causes appreciable damage to the state. There is no stable legislation regulating the specific direction of the state's foreign economic activities, which alienates many of our foreign partners. There is still no single concept of foreign economic relations, and our participation in international trade more closely resembles the patching up of holes in our own economy. We interviewed Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich Kim, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. [Video shows Stepanyuk interviewing Kim]

[Begin recording] [Stepanyuk] Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich, your Subcommittee for Foreign Economic Relations appears to be completing its work on the corresponding section of the plan and budget for next year. What basic proposals and comments will the committee submit for discussion by the session?

[Kim] Yes, basically we have completed our work. Two sessions of the subcommittee were held, and there were consultations with many specialists, not only those working in the corresponding departments, but those working in Academy of Sciences institutes and others as well. Of course, we noted that the plan for foreign economic activities naturally could not allow any kind of cardinal changes, because our foreign economic relations are based on long-term agreements and therefore there are obligations that we must fulfill. Naturally, the plan for 1990 is affected by this. But at the same time, taking into consideration the proposals of the people and deputies, we supported the Gosplan [USSR State Planning Committee] proposal that we sharply increase the social orientation of all of our foreign economic activity. In particular, the procurement of machines and technical equipment for heavy industry has decreased very sharply. Generally, 40 percent of all machine and technical equipment purchases next year will go toward the fulfillment of social measures. In addition, we are increasing procurement of consumer goods, and next year we plan to purchase R32 million worth of consumer goods at domestic retail prices, and, for the first time, we plan to procure consumer goods worth R1.5 billion on a barter basis.

I want to note that we are talking only about the USSR state plan. Besides this, there are agreements being concluded by republics as well as agreements on border trade. Hence, the real volume of procured consumer goods, excluding foodstuffs, will amount to more than R32 million. In addition, it is proposed that we decrease the volume of economic assistance to foreign countries next year by 26 percent as compared with the 5-year plan, and a certain decrease in the volume of gratuitous assistance is also envisaged. But, of course, I would like to stipulate one thing. I know that many people are saying that life here is bad, and therefore we should not render aid. However, this is a world practice. Natural calamities, diseases, and so forth occur in various places, and so aid must be given. After all, we should not forget the fact, for instance, that after the earthquake in Armenia, R300 million worth of gratuitous assistance was received to help the Armenian people. So we, as members of the world community, must also realize such things.

But, there has been a sharp decrease, although of course some portion of gratuitous aid must be implemented in accordance with obligations. In particular, like in the case of Afghanistan, we must do this. But a decrease in this volume is also envisaged. I would also like to note that we have proposed that a more concise and practical new concept of the strategy of our country's foreign economic activities be created. We would like to see a new concept or program for export development formulated. At present, you see, there are many things that we would like to sell. I know that many have proposed that we decrease the sale of fuels and increase their prices. Well, it is easy to make a proposal, but the fact is that you need to have something else to sell in its place. Also, if the prices on the world market fluctuated as we would like them to, everything would be much simpler. So, naturally, we must take this into consideration and increase supplies of those goods that are in demand. But this must be done in a purposeful way. Presently, a situation is taking shape whereby in terms of exports of manufactured goods, we are three times below the average world level, and, in this index, fall behind many developing countries. So, we have proposed the establishment of a program for the production of export goods, and, in addition, a program that would oversee the production of import-substituting goods. In other words, we buy a lot of goods that we could produce ourselves.

We are also submitting a proposal that from now on, the question of rendering economic assistance to foreign countries, and particularly gratuitous aid, be confirmed by the Supreme Soviet. I understand that some difficult situations may occur; however, during periods between Supreme Soviet sessions, the executive organs could make decisions within the frameworks that we envisage, with subsequent confirmation at the Supreme Soviet session.

Another proposal being submitted concerns the fact that 8,500 enterprises have been given the right to establish free economic ties with foreign countries. A great many problems have arisen. People are entering the world market with no knowledge of its operations. We are faced with glaring examples when valuable animal skins have been sold for 3 convertible rubles. Can you imagine? People have no idea of the situation and make sales that incur huge losses. We must remember that everything sold by an individual enterprise is still part of the people's wealth. So, we need some kind of stricter controls. Maybe we should see to it that enterprises establishing foreign ties should, as a minimum, have some knowledge or experience in the sphere of marketing, and so forth.

In addition, there are many problems associated with the maintenance of our representatives abroad. How efficient is the work of the people various departments send abroad? There are examples when people have gone abroad...[changes thought] Enterprises of the machinery manufacturing complex spent 18 million convertible rubles on official travel abroad. But what was the return? So, we are proposing that questions relating to the economic returns of all our foreign trips, contacts, and so forth be looked at more closely, because the people's money is being wasted everywhere.

These are the basic proposals that we are making. Naturally, there is a whole series of other points, in particular, those relating to how efficiently and under what conditions we are using and enlisting foreign labor. It may seem somewhat strange to you. How can it be that in central Asia there are more than 1 million people unemployed, yet we are using foreign labor? So, legislative controls are essential, and, naturally, there must be some perfection in the ways we use and enlist foreign labor in the Soviet Union.

So, a whole series of proposals has been submitted. At today's session of the committee, some further additions were made, and so next week, rather during this week and the next, further work will be done on our draft findings, and by the end of next week at the committee meeting, a final conclusion of our committee will be adopted. [end recording]

The discussion of the draft law on the press and other mass information means was not quite as lively. [Video shows Burlatskiy addressing the meeting] But this was not due to a lack of interest on the part of the lawmakers, but due to the fact that work on this document, which is already nearing completion, has been going on for several years, and in the past few months, the parliamentary committees have taken part in it.

Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, chairman of the Subcommittee for Humanitarian, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation, proposed that the draft more fully take into account international legal norms and determine the direction of cooperation in the sphere of information exchange with the world community. [Video cuts to show Stepanyuk interviewing Burlatskiy]

[Begin recording] [Stepanyuk] Fedor Mikhaylovich, what are the overall demands your subcommittee is making on the law on the press, and what is your personal opinion of the latest version of the draft law?

[Burlatskiy] Yesterday our Subcommittee on Humanitarian, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation had a meeting with experts that we invited from various departments and scientific institutions. We discussed the draft law on the press and other mass information means fairly thoroughly. Today a discussion within the framework of the entire Committee for International Affairs took place. Of course, we view this law more in a personal way—as international affairs experts—yet, at the same time, many of us have links with the press as journalists and scientists. Therefore, demands were made from both of these perspectives.

The main thing in our proposal—it is not simply a demand, it has been specified in the form of separate articles of the draft—lies in ensuring that the draft fully reflect those obligations that have been adopted by our country before the international community. I have in mind primarily the results of the Vienna meeting, the Helsinki Act, the 1948 Human Rights Declaration, and other documents. We are talking about our draft law being completely rid of elements of provincialism, reticence, and isolationism that were previously inherent to our activities in this sphere. From this point of view, the general concept of freedom of receiving, disseminating, and using information must be included. Also, there should be a comprehensive section which relates to international ties, our inclusion in the system of European and world television broadcasting and the radio system, the dissemination of foreign publications in our country, certain guarantees provided by our law for the activities of foreign journalists and representatives of mass information means, and so forth. This was the main content of our proposals.

[Stepanyuk] Fedor Mikhaylovich, at today's session you did not only discuss the draft law on the press. You were also confirming the decision on implementing the Vienna accords in the Soviet Union. What is the essence of this decision?

[Burlatskiy] The meeting on these issues was held 27 September this year. It was a meeting of the full Committee on International Affairs and some 20 representatives of various departments and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Internal Affairs, the Supreme

Court, the Procuracy, the KGB, and so forth. We set ourselves two major goals. First, to invigorate activities in the preparation of the whole package of draft laws in the sphere of human rights. This includes not only the law on the press, which we already plan to adopt at this session, but the law on freedom of conscience and the activity of religious organizations, which is of great significance both for our country and particularly for the international community. It also includes the law on entry and exit. This was a sore point over a period of many decades in our country. We must solve these questions fully, at the level of sovereign international standards. It also includes the law on informal organizations and many other laws.

We assigned the Council of Ministers the task of ensuring that the work of preparing the drafts be raised to a qualitative level and become more active. Many drafts are simply not ready yet. They have not been released by departments, and they have not been tabled in the committees that generally will conduct the proper work on these laws. Another major issue that we discussed was how to ensure that the adopted laws will be implemented. We used to adopt very good laws, but in practice, things went their own way. Now we can see that, for example, the opportunities for entering and leaving the country have been expanded considerably, yet enormous bottlenecks exist with conversion of currency, with airline tickets, with visa processing, and so forth. In other words, we have made very serious demands on the entire system of practical guarantees to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, and many other ministries that must implement the laws being adopted.

As a matter of fact, there should be a meeting today in the framework of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of representatives of many departments who participated in this discussion and are already working on the program for implementing those recommendations that the Committee for International Affairs proposed. [end recording]

Deputies Discuss New Strike Law 9 Oct

LD0910181689 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] A law on strikes, adopted today by the national parliament, aims to protect the right of work collectives to participate in management and to create better conditions for dialogue with the administration.

The new law was adopted by a majority of votes with 12 deputies against and 10 abstentions. The deputies, however, have varying attitudes to some of its provisions, which reflects the plurality of views existing in the revamped Soviet legislature.

"Our work today shows the emerging outlines of a Supreme Soviet mechanism for discussing draft laws," said Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Legislation.

In his view, a law-making culture is taking shape at the Supreme Soviet.

Vladislav Shapovalenko, a deputy from Orenburg, regards the law on strikes as a necessity. The new law takes into account the interests of both work collectives and the state, he said.

At the same time he believes that the law identifies an excessively long list of enterprises at which workers have no right to resort to strike action.

His view is shared by a Moscow deputy, Aleksandr Krayko.

Nikolay Travkin of the Moscow region thinks it illogical to adopt a law on collective labour disputes outside the framework of legislation related to economic reform.

"Democratic processes in Soviet society are ahead of economic reform, which has deprived enterprises of economic responsibility for their actions," he said.

Viktor Kisin, a Moscow city deputy, disagrees. In his view, since strikes have become part of life, it is necessary to have a legal regulator of the process adopted on a normal legislative basis.

Besides, the law rules out departmental or other approaches to handling complicated issues that emerge at enterprises, he believes.

Supreme Soviet Considers Labor Dispute Law 9 Oct

LD0910221789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] A new working week has begun at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a discussion clause by clause of the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes. Deputies began to discuss that draft last week. The first five out of 15 clauses were adopted. Then a working group was set up from the Commission of the Supreme Soviet on Issues of Labor, Prices and Social Policy and from the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality and Law and Order. It summarized the numerous proposals and observations of deputies and also analyzed the post addressed to the Supreme Soviet in connection with this draft law. Its chairman, Deputy Gritsenko, reported on the results of the work of the commission. He reported that the commission had upheld a whole series of proposals and amendments to the draft law. The discussion of the clauses was rather trenchant. However, every formulation underwent thorough polishing. Deputies examined that draft law during the whole working day, voting separately on each amendment to it and on each clause.

The morning session passed under the chairmanship of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Then it was conducted by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov. The most trenchant debates were on the authority of the strike committees. There were proposals to limit their activity to within the time framework of the conflict while other deputies

proposed that they be made permanent bodies. Having exceeded the usual time regulation of work, the deputies nevertheless completed the examination of that draft law at today's sitting. By voting in the chambers, the Law of the USSR on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes, Conflicts, was adopted. On 10 October the joint sitting of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue.

Supreme Soviet Panel on Republic Finances

PM1610160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own special correspondent I. Korolkov under the "USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions" rubric: "Money for the Republics: You Can Only Share What Has Been Earned"]

[Text] The session of the Commission for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs during its discussion of the 1990 draft plans and budgets for republics reminded you of the council of a large family which has assembled around the table after major losses in order to make ends meet. The work proved very difficult. There is not enough cash in hand to clear the numerous debts, as accountants say. The session was deciding where to obtain the money, how to dispose of it, where to invest resources, and what can be done without for the time being.

Selecting what is essential to ensure a tolerable life for our modest society, given that our economy has so many deficiencies, requires a supple mind and strong nerves. Just healing the wounds caused by the Chernobyl catastrophe and the earthquake in Armenia costs sums of frightening proportions.

Cutting investments in capital construction and defense and reorientating the structure of the national economy from the industrial to the social sphere will produce the basic savings in resources envisaged under the government proposal. The Soviet of Nationalities commission assessed these two radical steps on their merit. But, as commission chairman E. Vilkas said, the progressive nature of all economic measures is today assessed by a sole criterion—the extent to which it helps the market establish itself. And although representatives of the USSR State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance have sought to convince us that the new programs are the first move away from the administrative edict economy toward a market economy, it has not proved easy to discern this even with great effort of will. Here is the opinion of A. Atadzhanov, member of the commission, people's deputy, and first secretary of the Kashkadarinskiy Oblast Uzbek Communist Party Committee:

"Unfortunately, the state order for many kinds of goods will remain very high next year. It is 100 percent for cotton, for example. This is essentially the same old agricultural produce requisitioning system, and the Central Asian peasant has no incentive to increase his labor productivity. If we were allowed to cut the state order down to, say, 70 percent and could freely sell the rest, that would be a step toward creating a market. But we are not even allowed to dispose of the cotton produced in excess of the state order as we see fit. Yet we could sell it for hard currency and buy industrial refrigeration equipment and fruit and vegetable processing lines from abroad. We would quickly set up small enterprises employing 200-500 men. That would be a real way of quickly filling the market with goods. Moreover, it would reduce the tension... in our republic, where around 800,000 people are without work owing to underdeveloped industry.

A lot of sharp criticism was aimed at the state order by economists and economic managers. It seemed that enterprises would now be given more room for maneuver. Unfortunately, the new draft plans and budgets with regard to market development do not encourage even the optimists.

"The new principle of payments into the republic budget from the profit of enterprises under union jurisdiction located on a republic's territory alarms me," expert Sh. Sverdlik, doctor of economic sciences, said. "The draft plan indicates that each republic should receive in its budget 20-25 percent of those enterprises' payments into the union budget. This principle, which partially replaces deductions from turnover and income taxes, will put republics completely in ministries' power. If a department wishes, it can set an enterprise a small profit target and small payments into the union budget, and the republic budget will then be left fighting for breath. Departments thereby receive an extra and pretty powerful lever for exerting pressure on local authorities."

The objections raised to the republics' draft plans and budgets do make you think: How were these programs formed before? While they looked smooth on paper, they consistently failed in reality. As a result we received such a disorganized legacy that it is clearly going to take a long time to restore it. Which makes all the more crucial the task of people's deputies, who have for the first time in many decades actually assess rather than rubberstamp the proposed programs. The hive of activity I observed for several days had no time for rosy optimism. People only acknowledged sober assessments, realistic figures, and well-motivated expenditure there.

At one sitting, where there were many experts as usual, E. Vilkas asked: "Who believes that consumer goods production will increase by even 15 percent next year rather than the 20 percent laid down by the draft plan?" Everyone kept their peace.

You could regard this figure indulgently as a kind of desirable target. But the point is that turnover tax is based on planned growth in the volume of consumer goods. It has already been written down in some places and perhaps included in the sum which will go to pay

wages or acquire equipment. And if the plan is only half-fulfilled? Imagine the chain reaction.

Deputies and experts, as the speeches showed, have grounds for doubting that the output of consumer goods will make such a dramatic leap, since the plan, as before, is not balanced in terms of material resources. The current situation in the Ukraine stands as follows. It is planned to increase the overall volume of consumer goods output there by 12 percent. However, through lack of material and technical resources the republic will produce a production shortfall of R1.5 billion. But, as if counting on some sort of miracle, its volume of nonfood output has been increased by a further 2 billion.

According to the Georgian draft budget an extra R123 million in turnover tax revenue should be generated. "But what kind of output?!"—the republic minister of finance said at a loss. "With such planning," he observed not without irony, "any budget can be balanced."

The planned 11 percent growth in overall volume of consumer goods in Moldavia is not backed up with raw materials. The same problem was articulated by the Belorussians.

What representatives of virtually all republics said is that the solution of urgent tasks in each republic requires considerably larger resources than envisaged by the draft plans and budgets. Although a Latvian representative did make the following bitter, albeit just comment:

"You can pull the blanket with its large budget deficit hole anyway you choose, but the hole won't become any smaller. You first have to produce the goods. But before you do that you have to find someone to take charge. Those who have received land in our republic have increased their output between two- and five-fold. With the same resources!"

Although the commission session, as a Leningrad representative remarked, was concerned with allocating targets on a regional basis, the question that was asked with increasing firmness and frequency was how we are to live in the future. The question in short is what to do in order to ensure that we, the able-bodied population of a country that is rich in natural resources and businesslike, skillful people, should want to work efficiently and to high standards, since calls "to work still better" and slogans about still greater "Development of socialist competition" will not put more goods in our stores? And even Council of Ministers resolutions backed up with money and resources often fail to solve the problems. Everything hinges on providing an incentive for people—specific, individual people. And that is only possible if the diktat of the center is reduced.

It has to be said that this diktat is in many respects weakened by the State Plan drafts and fuller account is taken of the interests of republics and oblasts. Nevertheless....

"It is becoming clear in our discussion that all the difficulties, all our problems with the plan and budget are due to the fact that the center is wholly reluctant to give up its functions of distribution," according to E. Vilkas. "From next year under the new plan the solution of all social questions will transfer to the jurisdiction of the republics. But the management of industry itself, which generates the basic income, remains at the center. All responsibility for pursuing social policy is vested in the republics, but the power [vozmozhnosti] remains with the departments. Republics will once again be unable to live on the resources they have earned...."

A new concept—subvention—is being introduced into our economic practice. According to the dictionaries, it is a kind of state financial assistance allocated to local organs of power or discrete sectors of the economy for defined purposes. A USSR Ministry of Finances representative attributed the need to introduce such an institution to the fact that "there are distortions in the allocation of income in the country" due to the imperfect nature of prices. Magadan, for example, supplies the country with gold, but is itself obliged to exist on subsidy. Uzbekistan supplies the country with cheap cotton, but the profit is received by those who manufacture the end product. Regions will now be paid extra for their work. This will in part enable justice to be restored. But what is a subvention doing here? Deputy A. Atadzhanov thought that it would be better if a republic were allowed to increase the turnover tax on goods produced outside the republic from its raw material instead of this humiliating subsidy (which amounts to almost R3 billion in 1990).

Perhaps our Soviet version of subvention was conceived instead of radical measures because regulation of prices requires greater republic autonomy. Autonomy hinges on the question of ownership. But the Supreme Soviet has not yet adopted the law on ownership.

Defense Sector Underperforms on Civil Output

PM1610145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Romanyuk article: "Civilian Profile of Military Plants: Defense Sectors To Double Production of Equipment for Processing Agricultural Raw Material"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers government commission on military-industrial questions recently examined progress in the implementation of the program to convert defense enterprises. For the first time journalists have taken part in a session of the military-industrial commission. After noting that fact, I. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the military-industrial commission, expressed the hope that the help of the press will make it possible to improve the solution of the civilian problems facing the defense complex.

I should like to note straight away that defense workers have not kept their shortcomings secret. I. Belousov said

that even though supplies of processing equipment are being increased there has been no fundamental change in the situation. And after all, it is now 18 months since enterprises of the now abolished Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances were transferred to the defense sectors.

The urgency of the situation in the market demands that people act not on the basis of targets achieved or planned for the future but of the degree of satisfaction of the demand for the processing of agricultural raw materials. The USSR Ministry of General Machine Building is setting a good example of specific work. The sector organized the production of sets of equipment for the production of dehydrated potatoes with a productivity of 1,000 kg per hour. The set, which costs R1.8 million, consists of 73 types of units supplied from enterprises belonging to 7 ministries. The importance of the problem needs no proof. Let us compare: In the United States 50 percent of potatoes are processed, in the FRG the figure is 37 percent, but here it is just 1.6 percent. On the other hand almost one-third is left to rot. There is a plan to commission six plants but even then we will only achieve a 10 percent level.

It must be said that the reports from the sector's leaders were full of figures reminiscent of an account but the imperfections were most often attributed to the failings of subcontractors. A. Yershov, chief of a department of the military-industrial complex, was quite objective in his report. He stated that the program for organizing the batch production of high efficiency manufacturing equipment systems for agricultural raw materials processing has not been fulfilled. There are 176 defense enterprises working on the processing of agricultural raw materials now: In 1990 the number is to rise to 233 (45 percent of the production volume for processing needs). But is the forecast not too optimistic? Some 75 percent of the annual work time allocation has been used in 9 months, but only 68 percent of the annual production target has been achieved. The program is almost 1 month behind schedule!

Supplies of automatic measuring and storing equipment, units for preparing dough and pulping fruit and vegetables, freezer units, and much else have not been ensured.

The military-industrial complex has begun monitoring 282 named types of goods in the shortest supply (worth R0.5 billion). But production even in these areas has not been fully ensured. Furthermore, demand for certain types of equipment is increasing at a rate that couldn't be predicted. For example, it was planned to produce 300 homogenizers in 1990 but the figure demanded was 902: For the production of conveyor belts the figures were 390 and 3,990 respectively. Only 30 percent of the demand for separators is being met and for refrigeration capacities the figure achieved is 40 percent.

In 1990 defense complex enterprises plan to double the production of processing equipment. But a clear priority is being given to certain types of equipment: There is to be a fivefold increase in soap production equipment and an eightfold increase for potato processing equipment.

The question of the technical standard of machinery has become unexpectedly acute—for the advanced sectors! At present only 10-15 percent of processing equipment stands comparison with the world standard, all the rest is out of date. In the space of just 2 years (1989-1990) defense sectors are instructed to begin the production of 585 modern types of equipment, 120 of them this year. But the target is not being met—in the first 9 months only 23 new articles have gone into production.

However, even the sets of equipment which have been produced are not being used as well as they might. In a shop at the "Dnepr" association in Dnepropetrovsk, a beer bottling production line with a capacity of 24,000 bottles an hour has been standing idle since December: At the "Krasnyy partizan" plant a heat-treated [gory-achiy] fruit drink bottling machine with a capacity of 1,000 bottles an hour also stands idle.

V. Chernoivanov, deputy chairman of the State Commission for production and purchases, tried to assess the situation from the consumer's standpoint and leveled a whole series of complaints at defense industry workers. Not only is there a backlog in the full range of new equipment but agreements for the supply of sets of equipment for small shops are not being fulfilled—not a single one! Such shops, which bring production closer to raw materials, help to improve the storage of produce and enable it to be processed promptly.

This year the Ministry of the Aviation Industry has to produce equipment for 25 small capacity shops for the processing of fruit and vegetables. Ensuring that they are fully equipped proved difficult, and if that is not achieved the production process will break down. A shop in Belgorod, recently assembled and fully equipped, invited all the equipment suppliers to see the shop at work and explain to them the importance of the task. In 1990 it will be necessary to produce 130 fully equipped shops of this kind.

It is clear that the solution of such problems is connected with conversion and how thoroughly it is carried out. Under the conversion program the Ministry of the Defense Industry transferred 56 enterprises and 45 institutes and design bureaus to the production of equipment for processing agricultural raw materials. As a result this will free almost 30,000 workers. They will switch to the production of civilian output which will enable a 60 percent increase in processing capacities to be achieved.

A. Palyanov, general director of the "Votkinskiy zavod" association, talked about progress in restructuring production for civilian output: The collective is moving more and more from missile equipment production to the production of units for the food sectors. Conversion began there back in 1986, and now the plant is producing hundreds of machines a year for the bottling of 3,000 to 6,000 bottles of milk an hour and 12,000 bottles of sour milk produce and baby food. Demand for 1990 is

increasing and the customer will be asking for 600 sets of equipment instead of 300. And the collective is responding readily to that demand. Five main shops, 2,000 metal cutting machines, and 20,000 square meters of production space are now involved in the preparation of production. The plant is introducing microprocessor technology and assimilating advanced technology.

Now for the problems which were highlighted at the military-industrial complex session. It came to light that many units are included in the state order but the supply of components is lagging behind. But the state order makes sense only as part of a single production chain. Therefore it is proposed to include order components from other sectors in the state order.

Customers are complaining about high prices. Undoubtedly there is a question to answer here. But the following facts were also cited. In one design bureau they produced a unit using fundamentally new technology. Our consumers thought it was too expensive whereas firms in the GDR even decided to abandon the production of similar units in their country and buy ours instead. The Votkinskiy plant was asking R50,000 per production line. Once again the criticisms came thick and fast even though until quite recently such units were being bought for hard currency.

B. Glazyrin, chief designer of the "Gorizont" association, complained that there are no umbrella organizations in the country which are tackling the problem as a whole. For quite a long time that enterprise's design group racked its brains trying to create a line for the initial processing of silk cocoons. And "unexpectedly" it turned out that a similar line had been in operation in Uzbekistan since.. 1983.

In accordance with the government's decision new designs must be paid for by the customers. Usually they are extremely unwilling to do that. It takes 300 mobile installations to service 900 primary cocoon processing centers. At one's own expense, it would seem, because the equipment will only be used for a few weeks. But it turned out that it can be successfully used for such activities as drying grain and medicinal herbs, and so forth.

In this connection defense industry minister B. Belousov proposed that defense sectors should produce only the first batches of machines while the bulk production should be transferred to civilian sectors. This proposal found no support. However there was talk of the need to achieve a breakthrough even if it involved limiting the range of activity to achieve it. For example, it is necessary to overcome the shortage in the production of pelmeni, the most ordinary spice cakes, and smoked goods. The consumers will immediately appreciate the extra production.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary O. Baklanov, who addressed the military-industrial complex session, called for the assimilation of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex to be treated with the same sense of responsibility as arms production. He called for science, technology, design, production, and servicing to be linked in a single complex. Then the interdepartmental barriers should be removed and the specific needs of the consumers and not volume be the target.

Defense, Security Panel Deliberations Viewed

PM1610132789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by own parliamentary correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions: Quest for Optimum Solution"]

[Text] It is entirely understandable that many KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers would like to know more about the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. However, there is also an explanation why its activities get less coverage than the activities of other parliamentary committees and commissions. Most of its sessions take place behind closed doors. There is only one reason—the Committee is continuing to discuss the draft appropriations for defense and the state plan for the country's economic and social development for all the defense industry sectors. Many of the figures contained in these documents are as yet not for publication, as they say.

The pressure of work is intense. Members of the Committee have to elaborate their conclusions on these documents within a short period of time and, after discussion in other committees and commissions which have an interest in this, submit them to the Supreme Soviet for final approval. You will agree that the problems pertaining to defense and state security are highly specialized. Meanwhile, there are not that many professional military men, economists, and specialists in the sphere of military building on the committee. Many of its members have never had to deal with questions of this kind before. How are they coping with their new tasks, how is the discussion of the important documents progressing?

It is true that there are all kinds of people on the committee, ranging from an academician to a worker, from a marshal to a senior lieutenant, V.L. Lapygin, the committee's chairman told me in conversation. We have general designers, mangers of major industrial enterprises, and scientists among us. However, I see this as an advantage rather than a disadvantage. It enables us to discuss problems from various angles and perceive unexpected aspects. You also have to bear in mind that the committee works in close contact with various ministries and departments.

The sessions at which the defense budget and the State Plan for Economic and Social Development was discussed were attended by State Planning Committee [Gosplan], Ministry of Finance, and, of course, USSR Ministry of Defense specialists. Some of the committee

sessions were held directly at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. Committee members were able to get a concrete idea at first hand, so to speak, of how the principle of reasonable sufficiency is being implemented in practice and what our Armed Forces should look like to be able to translate the defensive doctrine into reality.

It has to be mentioned that the documents submitted for discussion by the deputies are elaborated by the Council of Ministers annually. However, this year there are a number of important, distinctive features. The most important of these features stem precisely from the need to implement the principle of reasonable sufficiency of arms for defense and the implementation of measures to effect the conversion of defense industry enterprises. The draft budget and plan corroborate the focus on the solution of key social tasks. This is what committee members were guided by when they recommended that the following points be taken into consideration during the finalization of the draft plan:

In conditions of defense budget cuts it is necessary to focus the efforts of defense complex ministry enterprises and organizations on developing and supplying the country's Armed Forces with modern, highly effective military equipment and arms and at the same time to discontinue the production of obsolete models and to reduce the product range;

To recommend to the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Defense Industry Questions, the USSR Gosplan, and defense industry sector ministries that they be guided during conversion by the expediency of the utilization of the freed defense complex production capacities and scientific and design potential for the development and production of civilian goods on the basis of improved technology and specialized production facilities equivalent to the special equipment to be produced, and also science-intensive types of civilian production.

One of the most important questions, if not the most important question, during the discussion of the defense budget is the question of reinforcing its social thrust. There is no need to stress that the need to improve the material and living conditions of servicemen and members of their families is long overdue. Figuratively speaking, the poverty line runs quite close to military settlements. But where are the resources to come from and how much should be appropriated and for what purpose. There are many holes to be plugged—the pay of officers, warrant officers, privates, and sergeants, servicemen's pensions, housing, the state of the military barracks... After careful calculations, Defense Ministry specialists have quoted the optimum sum which it is necessary to appropriate for the priority social needs of servicemen and their families. The problem is where this money is to come from, which chapter of the defense budget.

The most varied opinions, and sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints, have been expressed. But members of the committee backed the proposal of the Ministry of Defense to utilize part of the appropriations totaling around R1 billion to raise the pay and improve the material and living conditions of servicemen and members of their families.

Deputies also raised the question of the need to persistently utilize internal reserves with the aim of identifying additional sources of funding expenditure for social needs. According to committee members there is a lot of potential for this. Speakers noted that this included the staffing structure in the Army and Navy, which is imperfect in some places, and the employment of a large number of officers in various ministries. Lieutenant Colonel V.S. Podziruk again focused attention on the reorganization of the institution of political officers in the Armed Forces which, in his opinion, is long overdue, and on what he regards as the unjustifiably high number of military-political schools. However, it must be noted that his proposals did not meet with broad support among committee members. On the other hand, the people's deputy's points that it would be more expendient to use military school and academy teaching staff from the reserve rather than cadre officers at higher educational establishment military departments, and to reduce the disproportionately large army of sportsmen in the Armed Forces, met with approval.

The committee session was like a joint session of the parliamentary chambers in miniature. The same emotions which sometimes spilled over, the same heated arguments in a number of speeches. And the self-same truly statesmanlike commitment to the great and important work which the people have entrusted to the deputies.

The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee, Colonel General V.N. Babyev, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Financial Administration, said in reply to my question, is of exceptional importance for our Armed Forces and their entire personnel. Fundamentally important questions about appropriations for the country's defense concerning all the chapters of the Ministry of Defense estimate are being discussed with a view to enhance the material well-being of servicemen and members of their families.

The decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies are being translated into reality in the course of this work.

Deputies Discuss Resource Availability

PM1610134589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Resources and the Plan: Balance of Interests"]

[Text] The people's deputies are all hard at work on the difficult task of refining the draft plan and budget for 1990. On occasions emotions have gotten out of hand. But in the end painstaking analysis and a supreme sense

of responsibility to the country prevailed. Alternative versions were revealed of, for example, a budget without scarce goods, a budget that does not involve the printing of money. During the previous sittings the question whether the plan is realistic or not kept cropping up. So now they had to establish what the foundation was of the draft plan and budget that had been examined earlier.

K.V. Malakhov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], talked about the balance of the plan. The situation is characterized, he noted, by the fact that a socialist market is beginning to take shape: State orders have been cut, enterprises have been authorized to freely dispose of 5 percent of their products, including exceedingly scarce items. Some 3.1 million tonnes of rolled ferrous metals, 3.7 million tonnes of pipes, 12 million tonnes of timber, and 9.9 million tonnes of cement are being distributed through the free market. Priorities have been established: Products specified in state orders; the needs of the agro-industrial complex; consumer goods and services; market allocations and export deliveries....

This list in itself—given the limited resources—gave the deputies occasion to have doubts about the pyramid: Are not the main priorities determined by the economy's shift to the social sphere getting lost? At any rate, many resource balance sheets are tight—either expecting a 10-percent saving in production or purchases depending on imported scarce materials, which will be obtained who knows where. The reorientation of resources to consumer products has obviously not been decisive enough since sectors' orders are not being fully met. Take the footwear industry: There is a shortage of elastic materials, uppers, and insulation materials. Again we are looking abroad: What can we buy there? But perhaps it would be better to take a look at the situation in the chemical industry, which is not supplying the requisite materials?

The Plan and Budget-Finance Commission has been sitting for some days and the question of filling the market has come up every day. The following figures were cited on the very first day: It is planned to increase the market allocation of construction materials from R8.5 billion this year to R13 billion next year, 1990. The same figure (unchanged!) was cited on the fourth day of the commission's work, although considerable reserves had been identified in the meantime.

Even in the present complex situation no use is being found for nearly half of the waste textile materials and three-fourths of the waste paper; power station ash heaps are growing, as is the amount of wood waste in the timber industry. The Latvian experience is well known: Penalties are paid for unused secondary resources and the money is spent on utilizing them. In what way is this experience being used? There is simply no infornmation on this.

P.I. Mostovoy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, also built a note of optimism into his report. What is his optimism based on? On the mere fact that at the moment delivery contracts are being concluded more promptly than a year ago and no directive measures have been implemented. Deputy V.I. Ogarok asked the leaders of the two central economic departments: What levers do they possess for regulating the plan balance, apart from administrative, of course? No, the departments did not possess any: Again the deputies heard the arguments about the overly extensive rights of state enterprises and the sharp reduction in the centrally planned itemized list (let the enterprises be responsible for their own plans, they say!). But who is going to be responsible for the provision of resources? Apparently the ones who should be responsible are... the suppliers!

Sometimes the lack of a bearing, an electric engine, or a simple gasket can cause a crucial hiccup. Everyone knows that. But central departments do not want to have to bother with physical and material proportions. Even in such a crucial sphere as consumer goods production is today, the gross production approach predominates in the balance sheets. In overall terms resource allocation is 100 percent. But in the actual lists a balance is achieved in only 50-60 percent of the items. As a result it was proposed that a 100-percent state order should be established not only for consumer goods themselves, but also for all the resources required for them.

The representatives of the central departments blamed ecology: 70 enterprises have been closed, local authorities are threatening to close another 170 before 1 January 1990. You have to fight for a clean environment, they said, but why close enterprises? You will not balance plans in that way!

"Make proposals on it," the deputies proposed. "But allocate the requisite ecologically clean equipment as well."

Additional levers are needed in order to be able to handle the interests of people and of entire regions. But what levers? As at previous sittings, there was no lack of constructive proposals from the deputies. As a way of mobilizing resources, instead of the payment for fixed production capital, which is in no way tied to incentives, the deputies proposed introducing a payment for material resources—in the event of overconsumption (not from credit funds, but from the enterprises' own accounts). They also proposed a tax rebate for using secondary resources and establishing capacities for the production of articles using them. Here is another proposal—not a new one, incidentally: Prohibit payment for goods by the wholesale trade component before they are sold in the store. At the same time—set up a a foreign currency accumulation fund for the organization of modern production units, particularly for fashionable articles. And: Give local soviets the opportunity to set up their own cooperatives to produce goods and provide services.

Deputy N.P. Shmelev put it as follows:

"I found this very alarming. The belief is that everything is balanced in the production sphere. But enterprises have in their accounts R150 billion that are not backed up by goods. This money is not doing any work. They talk about balance, but there is nowhere to buy bricks, pipes, compact equipment, power units. Emergency measures are need to reassure the market. What kind of measures? First of all, it is time to stop the war with the cooperatives, which, given favorable conditions, could provide the market with goods worth R50 billion per year. Furthermore, a housing loan might be appropriate, providing 2-2.5 million families with apartments over a period of 5 years—that will be another R75 billion. Also, we might obtain substantial credit from Western banks."

Not all the deputies accepted N.P. Shmelev's proposals, particularly on the matter of Western credit. The Committee for International Affairs representative unexpectedly clarified the situation: They would like to obtain credit, but it will not be provided! What is needed is the organization of exports, and not only of energy sources—then you will have equal relations with partners and the ruble's position inside the country and abroad will be strengthened.

So the commission members' positions took shape. Recommendations were made to government representatives. Now the conclusions have to be correlated with the positions of the committees and commissions which have also been examining the draft State Plan and Budget.

It has to be a united platform.

Moscow TV on 16 Oct Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1600 GMT

LD1610173489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 16 October begins carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 1600 GMT Lukyanov opens session. There are 415 members registered. Lukyanov declares the joint session of the chambers open, and then remarks on the package of laws to be examined and the outline of work on today's agenda: resolution on regulating activities of trading and purchasing cooperatives; law on principles of guiding the economy and social sphere in the union republics; and the law on property. Outlining tomorrow's agenda, he notes the matter of amnesty for Afghan veterans who have committed crimes.

At 1604 GMT he says the first question is the draft resolution and draft amendments to the law on cooperatives. He hands the floor to Sobchak to speak on the matter of the draft resolution.

At 1606 GMT Sobchak says deputies have documents worked out by various bodies, including the legislation commission and the economic reform committee, which include many of the observations voiced by deputies in the course of previous discussions. He goes on to outline some of the main differences between this draft and the draft previously discussed and notes a need to inspire confidence that laws won't be changed in the near future.

At 1615 GMT he says that there is also a section in the draft regarding compensation for cooperatives which cease their activities. He says that Abalkin will comment on the question of compensation from union funds in the absence of funds on the part of local soviets.

Sobchak then goes on to amendments to the law on cooperatives, as proposed by the government, commissions and deputies. He proposes two amendments regarding prices charged by cooperatives. He goes on to say that this is a matter of establishing ceiling prices, not establishing set prices for particular goods; there is the question of who should set such ceilings, local or republican bodies; the establishment of such ceilings will depend on the situation in the market. He says that there is a need to regulate prices charged by cooperatives, and many deputies have voiced concern at the lack of control of the activities of the cooperatives. He points to the need to intensify control over those who are engaging in illegitimate practices, and notes that the principle should be that cooperative prices should not exceed those of the state.

After touching on the question of cooperatives hiring labor, he reads a proposed amendment to the text of the law on this subject, and set out possible scenarios in which the combination of official positions and work in cooperatives could lead to abuse. He says that these are the main proposals put by the committee on legislation, and this will ensure a healthy cooperative system without abuses. He goes on to read proposals by deputies, comparing them with the commission's proposals.

At 1629 GMT Lukyanov throws open the floor to questions from deputies. there is a question regarding the authors of the proposals, to which Sobchak replies. There are further questions regarding the scope of the draft resolution, and further detailed questions and replies regarding particular sentences in the draft.

At 1639 GMT deputy reads out a letter she received expressing concern at the inequality that the law on cooperatives has introduced into society. She calls for fair work, not the elimination of the cooperatives. Sobchak replies regarding combating speculation.

At 1643 GMT Lukyanov asks whether the debating should continue, and calls for specific questions only.

At 1644 GMT a question regarding procedure for dealing with cooperatives violating the laws is asked, and sobchak cites further examples to support the need for regulation of cooperative activities.

At 1648 GMT Burlatskiy points out difficulties if different local soviets set their own prices. Sobchak says the point is not prices, but their ceilings of prices. Burlatskiy

proposes a redraft, and then proposes that the council of ministers refine one of the points. Sobchak expresses his disagreement with most of the points by Burlatskiy.

At 1653 GMT Lukyanov says there are proposals to bring this matter to an end, and adds that deputies had a chance to make their proposals to the commission.

1655 GMT

LD1610175189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 1655 GMt Sakharov asks to speak, but another deputy interrupts and proposes a redraft. Sobchak replies with reference to his texts. The deputy continues to protest.

At 1658 GMT Lukyanov again tries to keep the discussion to the draft resolution, and proposes first to introduce the amendments to the law on cooperatives, and then to go onto the adoption of the draft resolution. Deputy Tikhanov then proposes a refinement to the text. First Deputy Chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz takes the floor and asks whether a particular point will apply to all cooperatives or only particular ones.

At 1703 GMT Sakharov notes the importance of the law on cooperatives in the progress of perestroyka. He says that prohibitative policies are in contradiction with the principles of perestroyka, and there is a risk of wrecking the process of perestroyka. He points out that we have no right to change the law on cooperatives, in principle, as it is very dangerous.

At 1708 GMT Sobchak replies to another question by Burlatskiy. An unidentified deputy puts forward a proposal on consumer cooperatives, to which Lukyanov says that each form of cooperation has a separate system.

At 1709 GMT an unidentified deputy stands up and shouts out a question on cooperatives, and Lukyanov puts the matter up for voting. He points out that later there will be voting on amendments. The proposal of the committee for legislation with amendments is put forward for voting. Lukyanov notes registration needs to be carried out every time before voting; there are 418 deputies. Lukyanov puts the amendment to the law put forward by the committee on legislation to the vote.

At 1713 GMT votes are taken, with 377 for, 9 against, and 17 abstentions.

At 1714 GMT the recorded relay of the Supreme Soviet proceedings closes, with an announcer saying it will be resumed in approximately 15 minutes. A children's bedtime program is shown.

1729 GMT

LD1610190989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian resumes carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin following a 15-minute intermission. At 1729 GMT the recorded relay resumes with Lukyanov speaking and a repeat showing of the voting on the law on cooperatives, and the amendment being adopted.

At 1730 GMT voting is proposed on point 4 concerning the amendment on price ceilings. Lukyanov gives voting figures for both chambers. A male deputy then asks a question regarding the difference in prices for raw materials for state enterprises and cooperatives. Sobchak answers, and is asked to come to the rostrum.

At 1733 GMT Sobchak talks on the different level of prices, with Lukyanov and a deputy giving their views.

At 1736 GMT Lukyanov asks if there will now be voting or if there are any more proposals. A deputy give his view, followed by Deputy Medvedev.

At 1738 GMT Lukyanov asks for proceedings to continue. A deputy gives his views, and Lukyanov then sets voting in motion. Voting is 316 for, 43 against, and 48 abstentions.

At 1743 GMT Lukyanov goes on to the next point under discussion on ceilings on goods imported for hard currency. Deputies propose an amendment to the wording. Sobchak disagrees, and talks about joint enterprises and companies. various deputies then exchange opinions.

At 1752 GMT Sobchak reads the reworded passage and Lukyanov puts it to the vote. The voting is 358 votes for, 22 against, and 23 abstentions.

At 1754 GMT Lukyanov reads the next article for discussion—point 2, clause 40—on who may run cooperatives. Two female deputies speak. Then an unidentified deputy talks of the corruption of deputies and says there is an atmosphere of distrust toward them. Further contributions are made from the floor concerning restrictions on certain officials who would not be able to run cooperatives. A deputy proposes that this should also apply to law- enforcement personnel. Other deputies argue that it is insulting to make a priori perforce become corrupt.

At 1805 GMT Deputy Bisers proposes that the whole issue be sent back to committee for further elaboration. Deputy Nishanov speaks in favor of voting on the amendment today.

At 1810 GMT Lukyanov proposes that the committee be allowed to work on the amendment for 20 minutes during the recess, and then announces a 20 minute recess.

At 1811 GMT the sitting is shown resuming its work. Sobchak comes to the lectern. He says that the legislative

committee believes that such an amendment should be adopted today as an extraordinary measure to prevent corruption and abuses by officials involved in cooperatives. After further elaboration he says that restrictions concerning family members of such officials would have to be worked on further, and a blanket ban could not be applied. Sobchak ends his remarks at 1822 GMT, when there is debate on refining various parts of the wording.

At 1825 GMT the amendment is put to a vote. Voting is 343 for, 27 against, and 22 abstentions.

1827 GMT

LD1610203189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 1827 GMT a vote on the entirety of the legislative instrument is taken. The voting is 353 votes for, 9 against, and 30 abstentions.

At 1829 GMT Sobchak points out that the deputies had little time to familiarize themselves with proposed resolution on coop activity. Debate on this is then postponed until tomorrow morning.

At 1832 GMT Lukyanov proposes continuing the debate, started on 10 October, on a law on principles of operation of republican economic administration. He says that Deputy Premier Abalkin will be invited to respond to questions, and then the appropriate committee will present its position.

At 1835 GMT Abalkin takes the floor and replies to a number of questions from deputies which were submitted in writing, clarifying various details.

At 1842 GMT Advadze of the regional development committee takes the floor. He says that the commission has decided not to recommend the bill to the chambers. He says that with the development of regional autonomy, it would not be appropriate for the center to impose such decisions on the republics.

At 1857 GMT Lukyanov invites Abalkin to reply. Abalkin says it is easier to criticize the draft law than support it. He defends the decision to transfer Belorussia to financial autonomy from 1990. He points out that the Supreme Soviet is bound by the constitution alone.

At 1903 GMT Lukyanov asks whether there should now be detailed discussion of the draft law, and should we submit the draft to the commissions and to the government for refinement? Gritsenko takes the floor, and notes the importance of the consequences of all these laws. He supports the proposal for the government and the commissions to work on the draft.

At 1910 GMT Deputy Sokolov speaks on the background to the decision to transfer Belorussia to financial autonomy, noting differences with the Baltic Republics.

At 1915 GMT a deputy takes the rostrum and calls for the draft not to be adopted in its first reading. He takes issue with various articles in the draft law.

At 1920 GMT Lukyanov says that there is a draft resolution. deputy Goncharov takes the floor and states that the nature of the document, in the absence of the property and tax laws, is weak. Lukyanov notes that the government understand this in stating that these draft laws have to be taken into account in refining the draft on principles of guiding the economy in the union republics. Goncharov says that in this case it is a waste of time talking about this law.

At 1924 GMT Deputy Prunskiene gives her views on the matter, with reference to the transfer to financial autonomy in the Baltic Republics, and the transfer of Belorussia to the same. Another deputy takes the floor, and speaks with reference to invalid organizations. He says that there is nothing in this draft legislation for such organizations. Other deputies give their views on the subject of the draft law as it affects relations between the union and the republics.

1942 GMT

LD1610223189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSr Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 1939 GMT Deputy Kirillov makes a proposal, and Deputy Gryazin then says that the council of ministers resolution on the transfer of the Baltic Republics to financial autonomy is not being implemented, and calls for the government to observe the law.

At 1942 GMT, after Deputy Amanova makes a brief contribution, Lukyanov reads out a draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet that the council of ministers and the committees should refine the draft with due account of other legislation by 15 November. It is put to the vote. The voting is 333 for, 16 against, 19 abstentions. Lukyanov then makes a few brief procedural announcements, and calls a recess.

At 1945 GMT the session resumes with Gorbachev in the chair. 406 registered. Examination of the draft law on property is announced. Boyko, member of the committee for economic reform speaks in general terms on the background to the law. Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, and Yakovlev are shown in the auditorium. Boyko moves on to the question of accumulations, and gives further general observations relating to property in socialist society. He then refers deputies to a page in the document and begins a section by section examination. He reads it point by point.

At 2013 GMT Gorbachev reminds Boyko he is running out of speaking time. Boyko continues describing the clauses. Boyko ends speaking at 2019 GMT, when Gorbachev gives the floor to Kalmykov. Kalmykov speaks of three ways of implementing the law in question, noting

there are six sections to the law and 34 clauses. He dwells on some important or contentious points, noting that the lifting of restrictions on private ownership is an innovation. He goes on to talk of the property of the labor collective. He mentions property of religious organisations, and says that as for state property, it belongs to the people of the USSR, the republics and other administrative units. He then elaborates on property of enterprises. Kalmykov finishes speaking at 2037 GMT.

2038 GMT

LD1610224989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 2038 GMT Gorbachev says it is time to discuss the matter, and says that there is not enough time today. He suggests that the morning session tomorrow should be given over to it as only 1 hour is left today.

Deputy Bisers then takes the floor. He says that achievements in interethnic matters have been modest, and goes on to talk of the new concept of union republican property and national wealth. He says that no composition of the Latvian SSR should adopt the law on ownership, and that if it did not it would lead to a constitutional crisis. He calls upon the deputies to adopt the second version.

At 2048 GMT Gorbachev says deputy (Chernyak) has the floor, and then names the Deputy Postnikov to speak after him. (Chernyak) takes the floor. He says he too supports the second version of the draft law, saying that the first would make vassals of the republics.

At 2055 GMT Gorbachev says that Deputy Postnikov has the floor, then Burlatskiy. Deputy Postnikov takes the floor. Lukyanov is seen talking to Gorbachev. Postnikov says all forms of ownership should exist, not just leasehold relations. Talking of republican ownership, he says it is a very vague concept, even in the draft law.

At 2103 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy takes the floor, and suggest various amendments to the law.

At 2111 GMT Deputdy Kozyrev comes to the rostrum and expounds on contradictions between lawyers' and economists' conceptions of property. He says that there should be clear differentiation between state property and people's property.

At 2121 GMT Deputy Yemelyanov takes the floor and discusses the lack of clarity in the conception of communal property, and questions the precision of definitions concerning relations of ownership in relation to land.

2134 GMT

LD1610230689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recorded relay of the 16 October USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. At 2134 GMT Deputy Samarin comes to the rostrum and talks about the need to devote more attention to the issues of union property.

At 2137 GMT Deputy Alekseyev takes the floor and talks about the need to produce more-complete documents in committee, rather than coming up with inconclusive proposals. He ponders upon conceptions of private property which exist in the world today. He also points out that the Supreme Soviet session should speed up its work, so that some definite laws are adopted by its end, since there is urgent need for some of these instruments.

At 2147 GMT Gorbachev says that this exhausts the list of speakers for and against. He proposes that they clear up the case of Yeltsin. Interior Minister Bakatin and Yeltsin are invited to speak.

At 2148 GMT Bakatin comes to the rostrum to clarify the case of an alleged assassination attempt aginst Yeltsin. He reads a report about Yeltsin reporting to policemen guarding a dacha settlement that somebody tried to throw him of the bridge, but asked that the policemen not report the incident. Bakatin reports that investigation had been launched and reports its findings. During the investigation Yeltsin denied there had been an attempt against his life. Investigation was discontinued 2 October.

At 2157 GMT Yeltsin comes to the rostrum and says that no attempt was made on his life. He says that he has no complaints against internal affairs bodies.

At 2159 GMT Nishanov announces meeting of commissions immediately after the sitting of the chambers. The session is closed.

Supreme Soviet Continues Debates, Speeches 16 Oct

'Stormy Debate' Held on Cooperatives

LD1610140589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 16 October carries an 8-minute report by Olga Vasilenko on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Session currently taking place in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Vasilenko begins by summarizing the first 4 hours' work today, saying that "one more step has been made on the path to creating a legal basis for economic reform," namely the adoption of amendments and additions to the USSR Law on Cooperation, after stormy debate. Meanwhile, she adds, the regulation of trading and purchasing activity by cooperatives draft has been sent back to the committees and commissions for elaboration to take into account the corrections to the law on cooperation. Next there was discussion of the first reading of the draft on general principles of the direction of the economy and social sphere in union republics,

which was handed to the Council of Ministers with the proposal to elaborate it and present it by 1 November this year, taking into account the draft laws on ownership, socialist enterprise and a single tax system.

Vasilenko then asked whether it is possible to examine the draft on direction of the economy and social sphere in the republics before the packet of economic laws. To cast light on the subject she invited Yuriy Vitalyevich Blokhin, deputy chairman of the Committee on Issues of the Economic Reform, for an interview.

Blokhin sympathizes completely with the question and agrees that the packet of economic laws should be discussed before the law on direction of the economy and social sphere in the union republics. He notes that there were immediately evident three poles of opinion in the morning's debate. He continues as follows:

Basically, the USSR government takes a considered position proceeding from the USSR's interests. Another point of view is that the republics, in particular the Baltic ones, and the Georgian SSR, more, so to speak, regarding the interests proceeding from the broadening—and not only broadening—but precisely from economic independence.

"And, finally, one must not forget the point of view expressed by autonomous union republics representatives, who also remarked that, while resolving these issues, determining this or that economic independence of this or that republic, we should not forget that there are state ethnic units which also exist, and whose interests must also be defended and taken into consideration."

Blokhin believes that the optimum solution lies in catering for all these needs. He goes on to say that the law he considers paramount, the one on ownership, will be discussed this afternoon.

He considers the main points to be those of hired labor, land ownership, and whether a law is constructed from a person to the state or vice versa. Blokhin agrees with the version of the draft law on ownership which has been worked out on his committee. The new law envisages various types of ownership and their equal functioning, starting with the citizen of the USSR to all-union level, which will be more understandable to the people, he states.

Amends Law on Cooperatives

LD1610134389 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today the Soviet parliament adopted amendments and addenda to the law on cooperatives, which is meant to prevent cooperatives from reaping the benefits of shortages of consumer goods.

The Soviet Parliament discussed the question of what should be done with trading-and-purchasing cooperatives whose activities are viewed by many as legalised profiteering.

At the beginning of autumn, a group of deputies even suggested closing down all trading-and-purchasing cooperatives.

Many members of the Supreme Soviet disagreed, emphasising that prohibitive measures, running counter to the law on cooperatives adopted last year, may undermine the population's trust in legality and thereby be detrimental to economic reform.

As a result of discussion, it was decided to discuss the question in standing parliamentary bodies.

When presenting proposals, worked out by the Committee for Legislation, Legality and Law and Order, Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak emphasised that these make it possible to keep cooperative associations intact and at the same time eliminate profiteering.

Among amendments and addenda introduced to the law on cooperatives today are the granting of the right to the Councils of People's Deputies to fix ultimate price levels (tariffs) on staple consumer goods (services) produced and offered by cooperatives.

It has also been stipulated that state control over prices shall be exercised in cases when a cooperative's products are sold under a contract to fill a state-placed order or are made from raw and other materials supplied from state resources.

State control is also applied when cooperatives sell goods assigned from state marketing stocks or bought from the retail trade network.

The parliament also adopted an addendum which prescribes that cooperatives which acquire imported merchandise should sell them at prices which are not higher than state ones.

A rule forbidding leading officials of state administration bodies and those who exercise control over cooperatives' activities to join cooperatives was also introduced to the law on cooperatives.

The Soviet parliament is expected to pass a resolution to regulate the trading-and-purchasing activities of cooperatives on the basis of the amendments and addenda introduced to the law on cooperatives today.

Further on Cooperatives

LD1610132789

[Editorial report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 16 october carries a 9-minute report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session currently taking place at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Semina notes that the session is discussing the rationalization of trading and purchasing activities of cooperatives and the formation of prices on goods and services sold by cooperatives to the population. She then introduces an excerpt of the speech by Deputy Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, as follows:

"At the previous meeting a whole range of deputies was absolutely right in raising the question about the fact that we must create confidence among the population that the laws that we are passing on cooperatives, land, and ownership will not be changed or abolished in a short time. The people will thus feel confident that the rights provided today will not be taken away from them tomorrow without any sort of compensation. This, from the very beginning, undermines faith in the fairness and in the possibility of the implementation of all the progressive ventures in the economy which we are enshrining in the appropriate legislative acts.

"Therefore, we begin our decision with pointing to the need in a stringent form, to demand that all state bodies stringently observe legislation on cooperatives, and with pointing out that decisions of local authorities and governments which are not based on law on the elimination of cooperatives and restriction of their rights are subject to abolition. Regrettably, reports are coming in from all parts of the country that executive committees, and the councils of ministers of the union republics en masse are adopting, and the presidiums of the Supreme Soviets are issuing republican decrees on restricting cooperative activities or eliminating certain cooperatives as a whole.

"Furthermore, it is not only a matter of trading and purchasing cooperatives. In an attempt to overtake the USSR Supreme Soviet, decisions are being passed in some union republics on banning public catering cooperatives and a whole range of medical and other cooperatives. For example, such decisions have been adopted in Krasnodar Kray, Leningrad, the Uzbek SSR, and a whole range of other regions of the country. Therefore, we are specially stressing the need to abolish the decisions which are not based on law, and in the concluding section of the draft decision we mention the fact that procuracy bodies need to ensure the defense of lawful rights of cooperatives and appeal against decisions, instructions, resolutions of local authorities, ministries and departments which are in contradiction with legislation. Only on the basis of strict compliance with the law, must both cooperatives and all other forms of economic activities operate in this country.

"Furthermore, emphasis is specially laid on something that was absent from the Previous decision, the impermissibility of using the situation that has arisen on the market to raise prices unjustifiably and to obtain unjustified incomes. In this connection it is planned, and proposals are being submitted, on introducing a change into the law on cooperatives to enhance control of the activities in this sphere with the aim of preventing the practice of eliciting unjustified profits through the difficulties that have formed on the consumer goods market.

"Now speaking on the essence of things, on the question with which everything has begun, and which has led to all that is now happening—in other words, with the fate of trading and purchasing cooperatives—we are proposing the following formulation: we are proposing banning all types of cooperatives. This is very important because in this country alongside trading or trading and purchasing cooperatives as such, the law envisages the possibility to set up mixed cooperatives, cooperatives which can combine, for example, the manufacturing, construction or other type of activity with trading and purchasing activity at the same time. Therefore, it is not a matter of banning trading and purchasing cooperatives—this would not apply to a whole number of other cooperatives which would continue to be engaged in this activity, but the banning of trading and purchasing and intermediary activity connected with purchasing both in the retail and wholesale sectors. Here I draw your attention to the fact that this has not been mentioned in the original bills and, incidentally, in any of the speeches at the session. "In the process of refining our draft decision we have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to block the channels of speculation through cooperatives involving all types of consumer goods, not only in the retail trade network but also in the wholesale trade network. Therefore we are suggesting banning trading and purchasing and intermediary activity connected with purchasing consumer goods and foodstuffs, not only through the retail and wholesale trade networks, but also through the state and consumer cooperatives with the aim of reselling them subsequently."

Semina adds that the authors of the draft decision have proposed a well thought out program, and that at the moment deputies are discussing changes to the laws on cooperatives.

Sobchak Address

LD1710013189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1606 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Speech by Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, chief of department at the Leningrad State University Law Faculty, from the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 16 October at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted: Sobchak says that deputies have documents worked out by various bodies incorporating many of the observations voiced by deputies during previous discussions. We must create confidence among the population that the rights given to cooperatives wil not be taken away.]

We submit the following addendum as point 3, that cooperatives acquiring, with their own currency funds, goods through importation, that is, imported goods, market these goods to the population on the domestic market at prices not exceeding state retail prices. This provision was also absent from the original draft and it

will require the insertion of an addendum to the Law on Cooperatives, because under the existing legislation this restriction does not exist.

Further, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in the draft a special section has appeared devoted to compensation for losses which will undoubtedly be incurred by trading and purchasing and intermediary cooperatives in connection with the halting of their activity. The fact is, many of these cooperatives have received from the state considerable loans for the implementation of the relevant activity. They concluded long-term contracts including contracts for conducting foreign economic activity. And in view of the halting of activity of this kind they may suffer extremely substantional losses. The draft resolution envisages that these losses by eneterprises, organizations, and citizens through the premature cancellation of the appropriate contacts concluded with them under the conditions established by the law, are liable for compensation by the executive committee of the rayon or town soviet of people's deputies according to the location of the cooperative, but at the expense of the funds allocated for these purposes from the union budget. That is, in posing the question of banning the appropriate activity, we will have to realize that certain funds from the union budget will have to be spent on making good these losses. [passage omitted: Lukyanov asks if the question of the union budget has been worked out]

You know, regarding the question of compensation from the union budget, I cannot say that this has been agreed. I hope Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin will give us clarification on this. There have been preliminary talks, but we cannot give the assurance on behalf of the committee that we have received full consent to this. This is why: Because the question arose as to whether it should come from the local soviets' funds; but the local soviets obviously do not have these funds, so only the funds from the union budget remain. But here, of course, a very serious problem arises connected with the fact that the union budget is already overburdened, so I will not make so bold as to claim that the government has given us such consent; I hope Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin will speak on this question and we will listen to his opinion. But at today's session we must decide the question, at whose expense we must make good the losses, and note this in today's resolution. [passage omitted: Someone from the hall asks what the sum amounts to and Sobchak says he does not think anyone can tell because the contracts are long term, for various terms. Sobchak then goes on to the question of amendments to the Law on Cooperatives. This session we will have to make amendments to the Law on Cooperatives. Without waiting to discuss this, since our resolution will, if adopted in the proposed version, contravene the Law on Cooperatives, we proposed immediately to make the corresponding amendments to the Law on Cooperatives. These amendments are connected with fixing the prices at which the cooperatives sell their products.]

The new thing here is the instruction that the local soviets have the right to establish ceilings to prices of products made by cooperatives. It is not a matter of fixing specific prices for specific goods, but of establishing price ceilings, of fixing the upper limit of the corresponding prices. On this question it is proposed to expand Point 2 of Article 19 of the law on cooperatives with the paragraph:

"For the purposes of ensuring stability of prices on the consumer market, the local soviets of people's deputies can establish ceilings to prices and tariffs of basic consumer goods and services produced and sold by cooperatives." [passage omitted: Sobchak stresses that there has been a lot of debate and ideas will no doubt be expressed on this, regarding who can fix the price ceiling—the local soviets or republican bodies. In several republics this question is being decided in different ways. We feel it should be a matter for the local bodies because it is a matter to be decided according to market conditions. Hence we stress that the local soviets are not obliged but can fix price ceilings. If the market situation does not require price ceilings, there is no point in fixing them.]

The second proposal: We propose that Point 4 be reworded. Here it is mainly a question of the need to tighten state control of prices, which is implemented in the event of products, work, and services of cooperatives being sold to enterprises and organizations under state order contract or being made from raw and other materials supplied to the cooperative from state resources, when cooperatives are sold goods allocated from state market assets or which they acquire in the retail trade network, and also when cooperatives sell goods or services on which price ceilings are fixed.

It has already been noted in the speeches of several deputies and from the committee at this session that many of the troubles of our cooperative movement are due to lack of necessary supervision of the cooperatives' activity. I can even recall that only a year ago the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy of the Union were issuing special instructions to their subdepartmental bodies not to interfere in the activity of the cooperatives. Unfortunately, this lack of interference has had the most disastrous effect on the development in cooperatives of speculative and fraudulent tendencies. Therefore, we stress especially and ask you to support us and make the appropriate amendments to the law in order to strengthen state supervision and take the necessary measures against those who violate the corresponding legislation on prices, especially if the cooperatives are supplied from state resources, from goods and materials obtained from state organizations; they must then operate on the same basis as state enterprises operate, and at the same prices.

Finally, there is the proposal I have already mentioned, that requires amendment to the law. This is that imported goods acquired with one's own funds must also be sold by cooperatives at prices not higher than the state

prices. Here one thinks of the notorious cases, in particular the speculation in computers, speculation in certain other types of consumer and other goods which are in acutely short supply in our country. I think that this measure, the making of such an amendment to the law, will help somewhat to put order into the domestic market.

So we propose to write in Point 3 of Article 28 the following sentence: "Cooperatives acquiring, with their own currency funds, goods by importation, are to sell these goods to the population at prices not exceeding state retail prices."

Finally, I ask for your special attention to this. This question did not figure at all in the original draft of the resolution. Nor did it figure in the inquiry of the all-union central council of trade unions and several deputies on curtailing trading and purchasing cooperatives. This is the question of the use of hired labor in cooperatives. During discussion of this question, the urgent necessity arose to make an amendment, on just this problem, to the law. We propose to expand Point 2 of Article 40 with a the following paragraph:

"Leading officials of state administration bodies and state enterprises, organizations, and institutions, as well as officials of these bodies, enterprises, organizations, and institutions who supervise the activity of cooperatives are not permitted to become members of cooperatives in the spheres of production and services, or work in them by labor contract." I think this restriction is quite correct. I can cite to you as example not heads of enterprises, that is a fairly rare example, although it does take place. I shall tell you of another example, en masse. Today practically every official of the State Bank, Zhilsotsbank [bank for housing, municipal services and social development], Promstroybank [industrial construction bank], and other banks, who has in his state job a rather modest salary, works as a rule at the same time in a cooperative, thanks to the fact that he does not need to get permission to hold more than one office and there is no supervision of this activity, and you can understand what danger there is, if, say, the accountant who...or the functionary of Zhilsotsbank, say, who does all the accounts of the the cooperative where he simultaneously works, this could be an especially dangerous channel for various kinds of fraud and abuse. So we include not only leading officials but all officials of those organizations, banks, the Ministry of Finance, people's control, Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] and so on, and their local bodies who supervise the activity of cooperatives. In particular, we think it will also include various kinds of trade union inspection and so on, workers' control, and other organizations effecting supervisory functions, because we have reports of abuses in this field too. These are the main proposals which the Committee for Legislation is submitting for your examination.

Discussion on Economy, Social Sphere

LD1610154789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 16 October carries a 23-minute report on the Supreme Soviet discussion of the draft law on the economy and the social sphere in the USSR.

Correspondent Lyudmila Semina recounts that today the deputies are to study the first reading of the draft law on ownership of the USSR and recalls that this morning the draft law on general principles of the direction of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics was discussed, following Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR's report on this issue last Tuesday.

Today on behalf of the Soviet of Nationalities Committee on Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Valerian Sergeyevich Advadze spoke to the sitting, reporting that the Commission unanimously recommends not studying the draft law.

Semina says "These are the arguments of the commission":

"[Advadze] In a decision of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, it is written that a guarantee of the strength of our federation is the completely voluntary nature of the union of the Soviet republics in one unified state. On the basis of this it would be logical not to grant rights to the union republics from the center, but vice versa, for the union republics to decide themselves what they cannot cope with at the present stage, and themselves to delegate rights to the center. This would correspond to that spirit of democratization about which we are telling all the world.

"This is a fundamental [printsipialnyy] issue. In essence, it can be formulated in the following way: Diktat, or free will. So far the draft of the law remains the diktat of the center with regard to the republics.

"Second remark; The draft law in all its features does not correspond to the logic developed by the economic reform, which is patently obvious also in comparison with other draft laws. The main issue of the ownership [sobstvennosti] of the republic is not resolved. And how is it argued? Let us listen to the highly esteemed Leonid Ivanovich. He says—in his report he said that we cannot imagine the successful functioning of the federation and its national economy without the presence of all-union ownership.

"But after all, economic history, Leonid Ivanovich, over the 70 years of our country, shows that this is not the basis of the functioning of unity and integration, and even that land where the peoples of the union republics live is announced union republican property [sobstvennost]. You see, this is impossible.

"All-union ownership cannot ensure any integration or federation. We must think about this seriously. In the draft we read that the law envisages the formation of a qualitatively new mechanism of territorial government. We do not find it in the text.

"As is known, a major task of radical economic reform is the elimination of the command administrative system of managing the national economy. According to the draft it in fact remains, and we only find a redistribution, a sharing of power between the central bureaucracy and the republican bureaucracy. On the whole, the document is saturated with the spirit of command administrative government and a system of subordination. This term subordination from feudalism exists everywhere."

Semina then plays a recording of Abalkin's reply.

Semina continues: "The discussion ended with Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov proposing charging the USSR Council of Ministers, jointly with the Commissions and Committees of the Supreme Soviet, with elaborating the draft law on general principles of the direction of the economy and social sphere in the union republics. Moreover, it is necessary to take into account the main points of the draft law on ownership."

Semena notes that the Supreme Soviet has received many letters of complaint on the cooperative movement. She plays a 4-minute interview on this theme between correspondent Olga Vasilenko and People's Deputy Aleksandr Vasilyevich Grib, blast furnace attendant at the Zaporozhstal Metallurgical Combine, who recommends a measured, law-based approach to the problem.

Then Semina plans a recording of a 6-minute conversation between correspondent Gennadiy Kolenov and Andris Petrovich Viltsans, a people's deputy and member of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs, who advocates the use of educational cooperation, meaning by this the creation of pictures, models etc, and selling them to parents to fund school trips. He claims that Krupskaya [Lenin's wife] strongly recommended this.

Finally, Semina plays a recording of a conversation between correspondent Marina Novitskaya, and People's Deputy Etibar Pasha Ogly Mamedov, a young oiler from Baku who claims that oilworkers should be paid better, considering that they produce a vital product which is sold for hard currency, which buys foreign consumer goods on which the state makes a huge profit retailing them to the Soviet public.

Rejects Government Draft Economic Law

LD1610140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Is the USSR to remain a single state in economic terms or is it threatened with the prospect of becoming a conglomerate of components weakly linked in economic terms—that is, if you like, how the essence of the discussions held in the Soviet parliament today may be defined as to what the law on the general principles of managing the economy and social sphere in the union republics should be like.

At a joint sitting of the chambers there was discussion of the draft law presented last week by the USSR Government. When he reported the main principles of the draft to the deputies at that time, Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, drew attention to the fundamental expansion of the union republics' sphere of economic independence with agricultural, trading, and construction enterprises and those of many sectors of industry coming within their competence. The draft leaves only those branches which ensure the consistent working of the entire economy and the economic independence of the country (the fuel and energy industry, defense, transport, etc.) within the competence of the center.

However, the government draft was criticized today. It is regarded as insufficiently radical by the Council of Nationalities (one of the chambers of the parliament) Commission on Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs. The deputy chairman of that Commission, Valerian Advadze stated that there should be talk not of the expansion of the sphere of the republics' economic authority, but of their economic independence. He reported that the Commission had come to the conclusion to recommend that the Supreme Soviet does not adopt the document submitted for discussion by the government.

In defense of the government draft, Leonid Abalkin stressed that there is no point imagining the successful functioning of the USSR as a federation without an economic base in the form of all-union ownership in the most important sectors of the economy. However, a number of those deputies who spoke did not agree with him.

As a result, the USSR Supreme Soviet decided not to endorse the draft at the first reading and charged the Council of Ministers with further work on the document, jointly with parliamentary committees and commissions, taking into account draft laws on ownership, land and other bills already submitted for consideration by the session.

A new version of the draft law is due to be presented to parliament by 15 November, 1989.

Advadze Comments on 'Economic Crisis'

LD1710025189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1850 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Speech by Valerian Sergeyevich Advadze, director of the Georgian SSR Gosplan Research Institute of Economics, Planning, and Management of the National

Economy, from the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 16 October at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpts] Esteemed deputies, the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities on Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs, at its session on 5 October of this year, with the participation of representatives of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform, having examined the draft of the bill on general principles of the direction of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics, unanimously voted to recommend that the Supreme Soviet not adopt this law, this bill, for examination. The decision of the commission is based on fundamental remarks made by members of the commission and members of the Committee for Economic Reform, as well as deputies who sent written ramarks; we also received the conclusion of the All-Union Economic Society. Such is the main fundamental nature of the remarks.

The first and main one is that at the present stage of historical development of our country, when radical restructuring is being carried out in all spheres of public life, including radical economic reform, the tasks have been defined of radical change of the Soviet federation. No wonder: The aggravation of the economic, social, demographic, and ecological problems is seen in all union republics. The economic and political crisis which our country is going through is the result of the unitarianism of the Soviet federation, while the sovereignty of the union republics has in many ways become a formality and the nationalities question has acquired exceptional acuteness. In such a situation, the question can be posed, not of expansion of the sphere of management of the union republics, as is done in the bill, but of their economic autonomy.

This fundamental question, we are given to understand, is cardinally one of the relationship of the center to the union republics. That is how the question is posed. And this year the center has twice tried to present these relations in a rosy light by offering them in an attractive package: quite recently, with the publication of the General Principles of Restructuring of the Management of the Economy and Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the basis of Expansion of their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management and Self-Financing. That is one title, for what it's worth. In another, the generally accepted principle of Soviet federalism became " a strong center—strong republics." Well, the absurdity of this principle was proved from this forum at the first session of the Supreme Soviet.

Then a little while elapsed, and there appeared a generally accepted formula: "Without a strong union there are no strong republics, without strong republics there is no strong union." Also incorrect. Because in the beginning there were the republics, and only later was the union created. Only strong union republics can form a strong country. Without them there can be no union, strong or weak. This should not be forgotten.

Further, in a decision of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, it is written that a guarantee of the strength of our federation is the completely voluntary nature of the unification of the Soviet republics in one union state.

On this basis, it would be logical not for the center to grant rights from above to the union republics, but vice versa, for the union republics themselves to decide what they cannot cope with or can cope with at the present stage, and themselves delegate rights to the center. This would correspond to the spirit of democratization about which we are telling all the world.

It is a fundamental question. In essence it can be formulated in the following way: diktat or free will. So far, judging by its draft, the law remains a diktat of the center to the republics. And no wonder. Even in the first article of the bill, democratic centralism—that is, the principle of the unitarian state—is declared one of the principles on which the drafting of the bill was based. But the time of diktat is over. Nor should one forget that the economic autonomy of the union republics at the present stage of our development is an economic, but perhaps not so much economic as also a political question.

And another thing is forgotten by the authors of this bill: They do not take into consideration the fact that our country overall, and all the union republics, have found themselves in the abyss of economic crisis. If you say that saving drowning people is the job of those who are drowning, then at least now it should be possible to untie the hands and feet of the union republics so that each one individually, and all together, may get out of this crisis. They got into the abyss not without the help of a strong center, this abyss of the economic crisis.

Not fortuitously, some participants in the debate at the session of the commission called the submitted bill an apparatus game, and asked representatives of the executive power whether they sensed the economic situation in the country. Summing up what was said on the first remark it can be stated that the in the bill there is no sense of the epoch, of the political and economic situation in the country, there is no large-scale approach to the problem, and there is an excess of optimism that it is possible for a long time to continue to hold the republic in bondage like in the old times. That is dangerous, that kind of optimism. [passage omitted]

Next remark: The proposed bill does not agree with the law on economic autonomy of the Lithuanian and Estonian SSRs [soviet socialist republic] approved at first reading by the first session of the Supreme Soviet. They differ fundamentally. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the submitted bill contradicts the laws, already drafted together with other republics, on economic autonomy. It has been publicised in the report of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and in the report of Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin. [passage omitted]

The situation being created is that when we were examining the Lithuanian and Estonian versions, their supreme soviets adopted the bill. These bills on economic autonomy were discussed by us here for 2 weeks in subcommittees, in commissions. For another 2 days here at the session, it was discussed and adopted at first reading.

Here, the government of the Belorussian SSR appeals to the Government of the USSR, a resolution is adopted at government level, and they transfer to self-financing and self-management. Elementary. But the only reason here is that Belorussia is taking the road that the government is proposing, and those republics, and others where this is being elaborated, want in full [word indistinct] independence, some sort of palliatives, a certain broadening of rights. The draft law proposes rigorous regulation of all aspects of the economic and adminstrative activity of the union republics, which is incompatible with the concept of the sovereignty of the republics. Thus the republics [words indistinct] are to ensure a reduction in the investment cycle and the timescale for recouping capital investments, a balance in the volume of construction and assembly work on their territory with financial, material, and technical resources and the (?capacities) of construction organizations, the application of progressive normatives to capital construction, and so on; that is, everything that the center itself has never ensured. They have gone so far in this regulation that they have tried in the law to permit what is not at all prohibited.

A declaration is made of obvious rights of the republics, which are not disputed by anyone. This becomes amusing when it is determined how they, the republics, should spend the funds that they themselves have earned, and even here there are prohibitions. The draft law—this is the next observation—the draft law totally lacks a mechanism guaranteeing the rights of the republics from interference by the union organs of power and administration in matters relating to the competence of the republics, unless you count such a general statement, that restrictions by the organs of state power and administration of the USSR in the laws of the union republics, in any form, are inadmissible. This is no guarantee.

Or take the 15th clause in which it is written that given the emergence of discord between the union republics and USSR ministries, the question is examined jointly. But what is the mechanism for that examination? And for agreement, given the remaining diktat of the union ministries?

If the republics do not reach agreement, then who carries out the discussion? The text of the bill bears a declaratory, in many ways, non-normative character, overloaded with propaganda phrases, edifications, calls, constructive judgements, or talks about the problems, and so forth.

We have other remarks, too. Practically for every clause. If you, deputies, have the time and patience, I can go through the bill clause by clause.

The shortcomings of the bill guiding the economy and social sphere in the union republics on general principles are of a fundamentally formal nature and do not allow it to be taken for the basis of the preparation of laws and for affirming them. Essentially, the bill needs to be written anew. The commission considers that the undertakings which there are in the republics and in the center will allow the rapid elaboration of a new bill taking into account the interests of all sides and answering the highest demands. This should be examined at this session. The commissions and committees could take this work upon themselves and, given the participation of the government, prepare and introduce at this session a new bill on the economic self-sufficiency of republics. That is all I have to say, thank you very much. [applause]

Draft Property Law Discussed

LD1610200389 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

It is often said that the law on property that is being drawn up may radically alter the nature of the Soviet Union. These views were also expressed today at the session of Soviet parliament.

At its evening meeting, the parliament discussed "draft law number one" of the economic reform. The draft law was submitted to the Supreme Soviet by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on October 2.

Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, Legality and Law, described the draft law on property as the economic manifesto of perestroika. It determines the new vision of socialism.

Speaking at the session today, Alekseyev emphasised that the essence of the document is its recognition of the equality of various forms of property. At the same time he warned against placing an inordinate emphasis on "private property".

Alekseyev said that private property in its pure form no longer exists even in the West. He perceives the new categories of property included in the draft, for instance, timeless and inherited lease of land to peasant economies, as real alternatives to private property.

Vladimir Chernyak, a deputy from Kiev, stated that the law on property should ensure the transition to a mixed economy. He said that state property, represented mainly by leased enterprises and joint stock companies, should account for 45 percent of the property in the USSR. Various forms of collective property should account for 40 percent and private property and enterprises with the participation of foreign capital for 15 percent.

The debate on the forms of property, and on the possibility of legalising private property, is not limited to the Soviet parliament.

Some national and local newspapers have been warning that the recognition of the legality of private property may signify the beginning of an end to socialism in the USSR.

In opposition, others declare that without the introduction of private property the Soviet Union will not be able to overcome economic difficulties.

Debates in parliament on the draft law on property will continue.

Bakatin, Yeltsin Comment on 'Attack'

LD1610235289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Remarks by Mikhail Gorbachev, Vadim Bakatin, and Boris Yeltsin from relay of the Supreme Soviet session held in the Kremlin on 16 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Today we, members of the Presidium met and listened to information on an issue that has captured public attention not only in Moscow, but throughout the country, too. And we have, so to speak, one way or another. We cannot evade it, an answer must be given. I have in mind the question, the so-called question of an attempt on Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, member of the Central Committee, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Many deputies have already asked me personally, well, not only deputies. Things have taken such a turn that recently Comrade Yeltsin gave interviews to several newspapers about this. Things should be clarified, and the Supreme Soviet should have a clear understanding here, because political speculations have been circulating on this account. If the Supreme Soviet is interested in this, we should give the floor, as we did at the Presidium meeting, to Comrade Bakatin and Comrade Yeltsiln. Right? [sounds of approval from the floor] Do all of you realize this? Please. Comrade Bakatin, speak within the outline of what was said at the Presidium meeting; I mean, be brief. And then you, Boris Nikolayevich.

[Bakatin] Esteemed comrade deputies, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed me to brief you on the circumstances linked with those rumors around Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's name. Let me report to you that on 29 September, I received first a verbal and later a written report from Comrade (Chernoglaz), first deputy chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee, saying that he had recieved a report from the commander of the guard of Uspenskiye dachas relating to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's verbal statement about an alleged attempt on his life. To keep close to the documents, permit me simply to read this information the way it was presented to me on 29 September.

At 2310 on 28 September 1989, at the entrance checkpoint of the Uspenskoye dacha settlement of the USSR Council of Ministers, Odintsovskiy Rayon, Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin spoke to militiamen Tumskiy and Kostikov, who were guarding the dachas, and said that at about 2100 he had been driving in a car to his friends who lived in the above-mentioned dacha settlement. I will not give the friend's name here. He stopped the car at the Uspenskoye Village-Nikola Mountain crossroads, and the chauffeur was allowed to go home. Having greeted the motor vehicle inspectorate officer on duty at the crossroads, Comrade Yeltsin carried on toward the dacha settlement on foot—a distance of about 500 meters. While he was walking he was overtaken by a car, and unknown persons pushed him into it, pulled a sack over his head, and drove him away. Some time later he was dragged out of the car and flung off a bridge over the Moscow River. He reached the bank some 300 meters from the bridge, down river, recovered, and came to the above-mentioned entrance check-point. His clothes were soggy. Militia officers helped him to wring his clothes, gave him a cup of tea, and asked permission to report the incident to the militia department. Comrade Yeltsin, however, asked them not to disclose what had happened to anybody.

The militiamen telephoned the dacha, but the answer was that nobody of that name lived there. Later, the nurse in charge of the dacha explained that the comrades who resided at the dacha had been admitted to the hospital for treatment 2 days earlier.

Some time later a man telephoned the entrance checkpoint of the dacha settlement and asked whether Boris Nikolayevich was there, and what had happened to him. He was given an affirmative answer and was asked to bring clothing. Some time later a woman telephoned and asked the same question; she was given a similar answer. After that she asked that he should not be allowed to go anywhere until she arrived. At 0050, 30 to 40 minutes later, an unknown man drove up in a Niva car to the entrance checkpoint, and another 10 minutes later, wife, daughter, and son-in-law drove up in a grey Volga car. The abovementioned persons left at 0700.

Before leaving, Boris Nikolayevich asked the militiamen not to report the incident to anybody. I must say that the militiamen had no right not to report the incident. In accordance with the rules of patrol service, Article 127, they must report similar statements, be they verbal or written, whatever, and facts, too, especially at the circumstances—soggy clothes, a soaked man in a very grave state—did not give any reason to doubt, in this case. Therefore, they reported, in accordance with their service requirements. That is why I received such information.

I did not think it possible to leave this statement without investigation, either; therefore, to carry out an objective investigation of the circumstances described in Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's report, criminal proceedings were instituted by the investigation directorate of the Main directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Oblast Executilve Committee on the basis of elements essential to an attempted premeditated murder, which, properly

speaking, could be seen from his seeking the militia's help. Investigation showed that the circumstances described in Comrade Yeltsin's statement were not confirmed objectively. How could this be seen? Firstly, the chauffeur of the car assigned to Comrade Yeltsin categorically denied the fact that comrade Yeltsin stopped and got out of the car at the motor vehicle inspectorate post, 500 meters from the entrance checkpoint. He also denied that they had been followed by any car. He asserts that he set him down right at the entrance checkpoint of the Uspenskiye dachas at 2210 and handed him two bunches of flowers.

One of these bunches of flowers was found near the gate, approximately 900 meters from the entrance checkpoint, and was identified by the driver. After he returned home, when he learned from his wife of the telephone calls from Yeltsin's daughter, the driver telephoned her and replied to her question regarding the whereabouts of her father, saying that he had taken him to the dachas in Uspenskoye.

The second thing: Rusanov, a member of staff of the State Traffic Inspectorate, whom comrade Yeltsin purportedly said hello to, was on duty on that day at his post until 2245. He also categorically denied the fact that comrade Yeltsin got out of the car at the State Traffic Inspectorate post and walked toward the entrance checkpoint. His car did not stop, and no one got out of the car.

A study of the locality shows that the very nature of the locality there, including the bridge, means that no one could be thrown into the water without receiving serious physical injuries, since the height of the bridge is approximately 15 meters and the water is only 1.5 meters deep under that bridge. The possibility of driving to other places and carrying out these actions does not corroborate either; all the more so in such a short time—in the course of 1 hour to lie there, have a rest, and then go elsewhere.

During my conversation with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin on 30 September, after these preliminary actions were carried out by the inquiry bodies, he told me that there was no need to conduct an investigation since there had been no assassination attempt on his life. Since 2 October, the following Monday, no actions of any kind with respect to the investigation of this fact by the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been carried out—no interrogations, nothing. We have ceased work on that case. The investigator who was on the case also spoke with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in order to clarify the circumstances, and I can tell you that comrade Yeltsin also affirmed that there was no attack on him. He said: I did not announce what happened anywhere or report it, and I am not preparing to do that. The minister himself telephoned me about what had happened and I asked him to close the case with regard to the investigation of the given case. He was to issue instructions to that effect.

Comrade Yeltsin did not deny the actual fact that he was at the entrance checkpoint of the dachas in Uspenskoye. During the conversation, comrade Yeltsin confirmed several times that, I quote: I firmly and categorically affirm that there was no attack on me. I have no complaints or claims to make against the militia staff. I thereby confirm that I asked the militia staff not to report anything anywhere.

Taking into account what was quoted, I report yet again that since 2 October no investigatory actions have been conducted by us. Work on the case has stopped. There was no attack. This is confirmed by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin himself. And the reason for spreading the rumors about the attack that allegedly took place was the personal spoken statement. Moreover, irrespective of whether the investigation was conducted by bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or not, the rumors would have circulated all the same. The investigation carried out by us will evidently allow us to simply speak out more precisely and clearly on this point and prevent them from being spread further, which undoubtedly probably does not benefit anyone.

[Gorbachev] Are there any questions to the minister? The facts have been reported. Are there any questions? Take a seat, comrade Bakatin. Boris Nikolayevich, take the floor please.

[Yeltsin] As I stated to the minister when he telephoned me on the following day, and as I told the investigator a day later, and as I have told numerous mass media officials who telephoned me and were interested, there was no attack on me. I did not make any written statements, I did not turn to anyone, and I do not have any complaints to make against the internal affairs bodies. That is all I have to say.

[Gorbachev] Are there any questions? [uproar from chamber]

[Yeltsin] That is my private life, so to speak.

[Gorbachev] Are there any more questions? No? Take a seat, Boris Nikolayevich. Let us sum this up like this. Like we did it at the Presidium. Thus, as a result of what the minister has reported, and as a result of what comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has said, one thing is clear: There was no assassination attempt on comrade Yeltsin. As far as the statements of the staff, on the basis of which the investigation was started, at the Presidium Boris Nikolayevich said: Perhaps I was joking, and they did not understand me correctly. Well, one can ask whether he was joking or not. Perhaps he was joking. But that is already another matter. Since that is already outside the, so to speak, criminal aspects of this subject, that is another matter. But for us today one thing should be clear, because while I have been making my announcement, as it were, yet another inquiry has come in to this effect: Tell us again, because there is talk about this all the time, make things clear for us. Now, I think this is clear, comrades. As far as all the rest is concerned, that is already another question.

Further Reportage on Alleged Attack

LD1610202989 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow october 16 TASS—The Soviet central television network broadcast today a report from the afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which included information on the alleged attempt on the life of people's deputy Boris Yeltsin.

The question had been earlier examined at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Mikhail Gorbachev who presided over the afternoon session said the need to clear up the matter was caused by political speculations in connection with the alleged attempt.

Soviet minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Bakatin told the deputies that on September 29 he had received a report from the leadership of the Moscow region chief administration of internal affairs citing an oral statement of deputy Yeltsin that an attempt had been made on his life.

The statement had been made to the guards of the summer residence of the USSR Council of Ministers located in the Moscow region.

The report had this to say: Boris Yeltsin told the guards on September 28, at 23:10, that he had let his driver go, two hours previously, at a distance of half a kilometer from the residence and walked towards it after greeting a state traffic inspector.

Yeltsin said that a car overtook him and unknown persons made him get into the car, pulled a bag over his head and, on reaching a bridge across the Moskva River, threw him into the water.

Yeltsin said he managed to reach the bank, rested to regain his breath and then turned to the militia. However, he asked the militia people not to let anyone know what had happened.

Noting that the militia men had no right to withhold the report, Bakatin said that legal action was started to establish the objective circumstances behind the statement made by Yeltsin as it referred to a criminal case involving an attempt on a person's life.

The investigation established that the circumstances contained in the statement by Boris Yeltsin could not be confirmed.

The driver of Yeltsin's car categorically denied that Yeltsin had got out of the car at the traffic inspection checkpoint and insisted that Yeltsin had left the car directly at the entrance to the residence at 22:10.

The traffic inspector likewise categorically denied the fact of Yeltsin's getting out of the car at his checkpoint and walking towards the summer residence.

An on-site inspection indicated that serious injuries must have resulted from tossing a human body down into the water from the bridge: as the height of the bridge was 15 meters and the depth of water under it—1.5 meters.

On September 30, Bakatin said, Yeltsin told him in a person-to- person talk that there was need to launch an investigation, as there had been no attempt on his life.

Thus, as the fact of an attempt on Yeltsin's life was not established, the criminal case was called off. The rumours alleging that Yeltsin was attacked were sparked off by his oral statement, the minister of internal affairs said in conclusion.

In his address, Deputy Yeltsin reiterated that there had been no attempt on his life and he had no claims concerning the actions of the militia.

Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion that one thing was clear—there had been no attempt on Deputy Yeltsin's life. Referring to the report by the militiamen which provided the basis for the legal action and investigation, Yeltsin told members of the Presidium during an earlier meeting that he may have joked and was misunderstood by the guards.

But this question is already beyond the confines of the criminal aspects of the theme, Gorbachev said.

Supreme Soviet 16 Oct Session Ends

LD1610180289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] At the proposal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who chaired the evening session, it was decided to devote the entire first half of tomorrow to a discussion on the draft law on ownership.

At the end of today's session, the floor was given to Vadim Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs. On the instructions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, he made an announcement on rumors of an attack [pokusheniye] on Deputy Yeltsin. Workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have established, and Comrade Yeltsin confirmed this in person today, that there has been no such incident. With that the session ended. Tomorrow the session will continue its work.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Ownership Law 17 Oct

LD1710090489 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Discussion of a draft law on ownership was first on the agenda of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament today. The sitting is being chaired by First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Deputies are also expected to adopt a decision on streamlining trade and procurement operations of cooperatives in line with amendments and supplements to the law on cooperation, which were approved on Monday [16 October].

Political & Social

Kryuchkov Views Effects of Restructuring on KGB

LD1610190889 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] At the end of our 'Events and Comments' section, we are offering you an interview granted to Moscow Radio by Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the Committee for State Security. He was appointed to this post last year. Before that, 65-year old Vladimir Kryuchkov for a long time led the Soviet political intelligence, one of the committee's sections. In reply to a question, what has changed in the work of the Committee for State Security during the few years of restructuring, Vladimir Kryuchkov said:

[Kryuchkov in Russian fading into Slovak report] Much has changed. But now I would like to focus on one fact only,—the active participation of the Committee for State Security in perfecting Soviet legislation—on creating a state ruled truly by laws. Our staff, the chairman of the Committee for State Security says, are willing to do everything they can to ensure that lawlessness of the past, which brought grief and suffering to the country is never repeated. Staff at the Committee for State Security have a duty to defend human rights and to act only in harmony with the law and internal order. Vladimir Kryuchkov singled out glasnost as very advantageous for the Committee for State Security. I hope, he said, that it will help us to establish the necessary contacts with the population, and relying on it will enable the Soviet public to influence the work of state security organs.

The chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security spoke against intelligence activity being directed at overthrowing the government of any state, and toward ideological and economic subversion. In his opinion, the task of Soviet intelligence is to ensure objective information for leading representatives of its own country.

Vladimir Kryuchkov pointed to the possibility of cooperation between the Soviet and U.S. intelligence services. Examples do already exist. They are united in joint operations against international terrorists and drug traffickers. In this way the Committee for State Security has participated in the secret transportation of a large drugs contraband via the Soviet Union to Great Britain, Canada, and the Netherlands.

Where cases mention that some staff of the Committee for the State Security have emigrated to the West, Vladimir Kryuchkov noted that often family problems, dissatisfaction with the promotion at work, and certain injustice were causes for this. Similar motives cannot be a justification for them at all, or the fact that they were subjected to great psychological pressure by the Western special services. Vladimir Kryuchkov has assured us that if any one of these defectors decides to repent, he can always count on his homeland's mercy.

At the end of the interview for Moscow Radio the chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security expressed satisfaction with the fact that his establishment has in recent time received many letters from our listeners. It is pleasant to note, Vladimir Kryuchov said, that almost all the letters were written in a well-wishing tone.

Cadre Policy Commission Examines Work Improvement

PM1610080189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Sitting in the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy"

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee's Commission on Issues of Party Construction and Cadre Policy held a routine session. The commission examined the matter of measures for the further democratization of cadre work and for improvement of its organization in party committees. In preparing for this matter, the practice of work with cadres in republican, kray, and oblast party organizations was studied. The considerations and recommendations expressed by party organizations, individual communists, and nonparty people, as well as the utterances of scientists and the mass information media on such problems and the experience of fraternal parties, were studied. The discussion participants were unanimous that the significance of renewal of the qualitative composition of cadres, and the advancement of able, vigorous, and authoritative workers of a new perestroyka formation capable of leading people is growing at the current watershed stage of perestroyka. This stage requires decisive and enterprising practical actions. The commission expressed firm conviction that the CPSU, as the political vanguard of society, and the initiator and guarantor of the irrevocability of the revolutionary transformations and of nationwide accord, is called upon to renew its cadres policy and to implement it on a genuinely democratic basis, relying on broad public opinion.

The commission believes cadre work restructuring should be conducted simultaneously in two main directions. The first is its significant decentralization, the transfer of necessary powers in cadre issues from higher-ranking to lower-ranking party committees, and the renunciation of adminstrative meddling in the deployment of cadres in bodies of state power and management, and in public organizations. A particularly important role should belong to the primary party organization as a fully fledged subject in contemporary cadre policy. The second direction is the further democratization of the election process within the party itself and in political and social structures.

The session participants discussed practical measures for dismantling a formal and nomenclature mechanism in cadre policy. They concluded it is necessary to abolish the so-called records and monitoring [utochno-kontrolnaya] nomenklatura, which is virtually in the hands of the party apparatus.

The commission expressed itself in favor of further developing and deepening the principles of alternatives in the composition of the cadre corps, with the democratic rights of the bodies that carry out elections being observed here. The proposal that the secretaries of primary party organizations and party committees should be elected directly by the participants in meetings and delegates at conferences was recognized as worthy of attention.

Attention was paid at the session to issues of the democratization of work with the cadre reserve. The need was stressed to abandon the procedure established in the past whereby an indispensable condition for workers' advancement was that he should have passed consecutively through all stages in the career ladder, and where party committes directed their attention mainly toward data held on forms when selecting and placing cadres. The commission came out in favor of giving up the practice of composing elected party organs mainly according to the principle of position. The session participants were unanimous that it is only on a basis of democracy that a flow of active campaigners for perestroyka into the cadres could be ensured from among communists and nonparty people, and from representatives of all strata of the population and nationalities.

The commission expressed proposals for the CPSU Central Committee on the issue under discussion.

The commission also considered the issue of preparing the draft of a new CPSU charter in time for the 28th party congress. The participants in the session noted that the charters purpose is to promote the party's renewal, to consolidate everything of value which has been engendered during perestroyka, to provide scope for democracy, and to assist the initiative and cohesion of communists. The preparation of such a document, the speakers stressed, would require great collective work in all links of the CPSU as well as participation in that work by the scientific community and the broad party aktiv. The whole process of preparing the draft charter should be creative and informal in nature; it should be open and take place in conditions of frank exchanges of opinion and of active discussion of issues concerning the charter in party organizations and labor collectives.

The work plan approved by the commission provides for all incoming proposal and remarks on the charter to be carefully studied and summarized so that they can be taken into account while preparing proposals for the CPSU Central Committee.

Twelve people spoke at the commission session. Taking part in its work were: B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the party control committee at the CPSU Central Committee, who spoke during the discussion; Yu. A. Manayenkov and G.I. Usmanov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The commission session was chaired by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Adjourns

NC1710105689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] The 10th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 15 October. The session, held at the hall of congresses, was presided over by Tonoyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic.

The deputies confirmed the agenda put forward during the expanded meeting of the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet on 14 October. The following two items were on the agenda: 1) The tragic incident that took place on 10 October in Stepanakert city [shooting of six Armenians by Sverdlovsk Fire Brigade School students] and 2) reports by USSR people's deputies from the Armenian Republic on their activities during the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, spoke on the first item on the agenda and was followed by an exchange of views. Lobov then replied to a number of questions from the deputies. The Supreme Soviet endorsed a relevant decision on the issue under discussion. USSR People's Deputy Ambardzumyan spoke about the second item on the agenda. Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, addressed the session.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet heard reports on the Armenian deputies' activities during the USSR Supreme Soviet session. It instructed them to work more persistently and productively to defend the interests of our republic and its people in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and Avedisyan, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet spoke on the (?activities of the deputies).

[Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 1630 GMT on 16 October in a similar report on the Supreme Soviet session adds: "USSR People's Deputies Robert Kocharyan, Sero Khanzadyan, Garen Simonyan, and Boris Dadamyan; Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputies Rafayel Khazaryan, Nora Akopyan, Rafik Kamiryan, Khachik Stamboltsyan, Sarkis Muradyan, Garlen Dallakyan, and Aleksan Kirakosyan; and Seyran Arakelyan,

representative of the Pan-Armenian National Movement, took part in the exchange of views. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet session was once more adjourned due to the continuation of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today in Moscow."]

Deputy Railways Minister Speaks on NKAO Situation

PM1710134989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "... And Obstructions Remain"]

[Text] A news conference devoted to the question of the passage of trains with freight for Armenia and Georgia through Azerbaijan took place yesterday at the Ministry of Railways.

As B.N. Butko, USSR deputy minister of railways, noted in his speech, train traffic along the Norashen-Idzhevan-Beyuk-Kyasik section has increased. In 5 days 7,190 cars have been sent to Armenia. These include 503 carrying foodstuffs, 404 carrying gasoline, and 63 carrying aviation fuel. The stepping up of transportation made it possible to reduce the number of trains temporarily detained on the South Urals, West Kazakhstan, Dnepr, Southeast, South, and North Caucasus Railroads.

"In addition to this," Valeriy Nikolayevich stressed, "there are also problems which influence transportation work. More than 25,000 cars remain in enterprise sidings every day because unloading is slow. In the early part of the day—during nighttime hours—the proportion of cars that get unloaded does not exceed 27 percent."

"The situation in the region is more or less back to normal now," A.N. Shkrebets, chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Administration for the Enforcement of Transportation Laws, said. "But the situation is difficult. Excesses attributable to interethnic disagreements are preventing the situation from improving. In a number of rayons there is still tension, there are clashes, and crimes are being committed."

[Unidentified questioner] What influence are the events on the Transcaucasian railroads having on the situation in the region served by the Moscow railroad?

"More than 50,000 cars are currently paralyzed here on account of events in the Transcaucasus. These losses are already running into billions, so railroad workers on the Moscow railroad are also affected by the obstructions on the Azerbaijan railroad," V.N. Butko answered.

Unloading of Trains Key Problem

LD1610194589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] A press conference was held at the Ministry of Railways today at which representatives of the Ministry of Railways and the USSR Procuracy told journalists about the state of affairs on the country's railways, and in the Transcaucasus in particular. Our special correspondent Gennadiy Kolenov attended it. Over to him:

[Kolenov] The information from the Ministry of Railways which is now lying in front of me notes that in the peridod from 11 October to today, the situation with regard to the passage of trains with cargoes for Armenia and Georgia via the Azerbaijan railway has improved. From 11 October to the first half of today, 89 trains have been let through the Norashen junction, 21 train trains have been let through (?Mindzhevan), and 118 trains through Beyuk-Kyasik. In 5 days, 7,190 railcars have been brought into Armenia, of which 503 are railcars with food, 404 with gasoline, 95 with diesel fuel, 63 with aviation kerosene, and 1,144 with huts. Only since yesterday 129 railcars with grain arrived there. This kind of movement has made it possible to reduce by 27 the number of trains which were left waiting on other railways in the country to be moved into Armenia.

One of the most acute issues which exists today is that of the unloading of railcars, as was noted at the press conference. At present there are about 5,000 railcars waiting to be unloaded within the Yerevan section of the railway. The greatest anxiety is being engendered with regard to the intactness of the equipment and huts for housing which are being transported. In the last 3 days, 67 out of the 250 huts which arrived in Leninakan were damaged. Believe, me, it is a bitter thing for me to utter these figures. Let that hand which someone raised to throw a stone at a passing train carrying these same huts be still. After all, the children who were left without a roof over their heads after the dreadful earthquake are not guilty of anything, of any interethnic conflict.

In conjuntion with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Railways is implementing a number of measures to intensify the struggle against theft and other violations of the law on the unfortunate sections of railway. Despite the normalization of the situation in the Transcaucasus as a whole, the issues of normal supplies to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have not yet been resolved. Foodstuffs and petroleum products are still not being allowed to get through there. Thus, 190 railcars, including 61 railcars with petroleum products, are being held up on the Azerbaijan railway.

Officials on Cargo Problems

LD1610211789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 16 October carries a 15-minute report by correspondent Gennadiy Kolenov, from the 16 October press conference at the USSR Ministry of Railways on the state of affairs on the country's railways. Leonid Ivanovich Pingarev, Deputy USSR Minister of Railways and Anatoliy Nikitovich Shkrebets, member of the USSR Procuracy's Collegium are taking part.

Pingarev starts by saying that the situation on the Azerbaijani, Transcaucasian, North Caucasian railways

continues to remain "very complex". Between 60,000 and 70,000 cars—that's the bottleneck on these railways. This affects the national network operations. There is a shortage of railcars to transport agricultural produce, coal, ore, and raw materials for the metallurgical industry. Measures are now being taken: Traffic practically resumed along the Azerbaijani railway on 6 October. Cargoes are flowing to both Azerbaijan and Armenia now. But unloading of the freight that has arrived is slow and this is especially the case in Armenia, where over the past 24 hours between 1,800 and 1,900 railcars were due to have been unloaded, and only 1,300 were unloaded. Things are not too different in Azerbaijan or Georgia and, on the whole, the situation is similar throughout the network.

Pingarev's view is that Transcaucasus republics, Abkhaziya, Moldavia, Estonia, should compensate the ministry for the losses sustained so far. As for the railwaymen, the average loss for the Azerbaijani railwaymen is R160 a month each. The ministry has now sent more railcars and groups of senior staff to unblock the bottlenecks which have emerged in many frontier crossing places.

Kolenov asks: "Leonid Ivanovich, we are now on the eve of winter. It promises to be very severe. Will we be able to carry out winter operations normally, without interruptions? Won't the miners' strikes, interruptions, stoppages affecting the movement of rail transport in the Transcaucasus be reflected in the general state of affairs in the country? Won't there be a price to pay?"

Pingarev answers: "This matter alarms us very much at present, since the coal stocks—well, after all, what is it like at present? Take the power engineering industry, a number of atomic power stations are closed, electric power generation is going down at the hydroelectric power stations, that is to say, the main burden is placed upon the heat and power stations and hence what will be needed is for fuel transportation to be increased, coal and fuel oil first and foremost. However, the present situation is that our stockpiles at the electric power stations are between 5 million and 5.5 million tonnes less than last year. And this, of course, does worry us and the ministry is taking all measures in order to somehow increase the transportation of fuel freight."

Shkrebets then joins in the interview, to say that the situation surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh must be resolved as soon as possible. Azerbaijanis and Armenians must decide their fate themselves: namely, the governments of both republics must enter into negotiations and stick with them until accords are reached. All means at their disposal must be brought into play to facilitate this goal.

Kolenov asks: "As far as I know, generally speaking, not a single night passes by peacefully in the region of the Transcaucasus. There are exchanges of fire, hostage-taking incidents, and the like.

Shkrebets answers: "Large forces of those employed in the bodies charged with the protection of law and order, internal troops, have been detached for duty there in order to ensure order, to convoy the freight. Those employed in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have sent a large number of forces there to ensure safety. Those employed in the procuracy, special groups, including investigations groups, are permanently stationed in Azerbaijan and Armenia and, naturally, investigate all the facts which emerge against the interethnic backdrop, as I have already said. Let me tell you that a number of cases have been completed. These have been forwarded to the courts and people have been sentenced. But, surely,—and I will emphasise this yet again—it is not by the numbers of the criminal cases, nor by the numbers of those arrested that these questions must be solved. These questions must be solved on the basis of decisions made jointly, arising out of agreements between these two peoples."

Kolenov: "Anatoliy Nikitovich, I know that two diesel engines were fired upon from a truck. Hunting weapons were used. This took place at night, literally a few days ago, yes? Well, what has the USSR procuracy undertaken with regard to this instance?"

Shkrebets: "These two instances have been taken under the control of the USSR procuracy. Criminal proceedings have been launched. A USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs operations and investigation group has had the materials forwarded to it. These are being investigated." The public, adds Shkrebets, will be kept abreast of the developments in this case as they become known. Escort operations have now been stepped up; patrols along these railways have also been stepped up. He thinks that the measures will yield positive results. Instances of crews being blackmailed into not manning trains are something that he is unaware of now—they did take place before, though. Traffic operations are partially returning to normal. Stoppages cannot, however, be ruled out. Laws must be explained to people and the consequences of breaking them.

Konarev at News Conference on Azerbaijani Blockade

PM1310143789 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Oct 8 p 1

[D. Mikhaylov report: "Stop Causing Havoc"]

[Text] Moscow—The stores are empty while tens of thousands of freight cars with consumer goods are stuck on the railroads. Why did this situation arise and how can it be eliminated? N. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, tried to answer these and other questions at a news conference held at the Ministry of Railways.

The greatest number of problems has arisen on the Azerbaijan railroad, Nikolay Semenovich said. At best, it is operating at 60-70 percent of its normal capacity. This is happening because of opposition put up by the People's Front. One of its leaders declared at a rally in Baku outright: We will not allow trains to pass. In this way they are seeking to ensure that their ultimatums are met. I believe that this is impermissible now. The

country is preparing for the winter, it needs fuel for heating and to power vehicles, and it needs food. The Supreme Soviet has banned strikes on the railroads. Thanks to this, the situation is normalizing on the whole. For instance, the Transcaucasian railroad, which until recently was at fever pitch, is now carrying between 20 and 23 trains per day, twice the number it carried a few weeks ago. It is necessary now to improve the situation on the Azerbaijan railroad. However, this is being thwarted by extremists. They are throwing stones and even firing at passing trains. Our staff are rightly demanding that their personal safety be guaranteed. I believe that the time has come to take emergency steps to end such outrages.

The minister urged news media personnel to mold public opinion as to the impermissibility of a situation such as that which prevails on the Azerbaijan railroad. After all, there have been days when thousands of railroad cars were held up there. Give a thought to what that means. One freight car of sugar can cover the one-month requirement of a city with 20,000 inhabitants for this commodity. A freight car with grain is sufficient to provide the same city with bread for a week... It is therefore not surprising that store shelves are empty if freight trains fail to arrive at their destinations. Disruptions on the railroads are a great calamity. If they become chronic, it will be very difficult to advance the country's economy.

Representatives of the Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs spoke at the press conference. They were asked frankly whether force might be used if railroad workers and extremists fail to comply with the government decision. The spokesmen said that they were not authorized to answer this question although it was being discussed in the organs.

Round-Up of Railroad Situation

PM1610131989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[V. Romanchin roundup of correspondents' reports under the rubric "We Are Sounding the Alarm!": "Obstructions on Railroads"]

[Text] On 3 October the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on urgent measures to ensure that railroad transportation runs smoothly. It would seem that we must get things going. But our local correspondents report that as before the red light is holding back the normalization of the situation on the railroads.

Many goods at stations in the Moscow railroad system, our nonstaff correspondent T. Arzanova reports, are kept for a month and more. Thousands of cars in extremely short supply have virtually been turned into storage facilities on wheels. At the beginning of the month more than 26,000 tonnes of freight awaiting dispatch and more than 200,000 containers accumulated here.

The situation is particularly acute, V. Dzhavadov reports from Belgorod, at the Lebedinskoye and Stoylenskiy mining and enrichment combines, which have been short by over 16,000 cars since the beginning of the year. As a result the combines were literally crowded with their output, without which metal workers from Lipetsk, Magnitogorsk, Makeyevka, and other cities are at their wits end.

On the subject of the railroad workers' passive position, one cannot fail to mention also the irresponsible attitude to freight transportation by a number of leaders of industrial enterprises, collective farms, state farms, and organizations in the oblast. At the Shebekinskiy biochemical plant, for example, the delay in loading and unloading of cars is frequently more than double the normative indicators. The situation is similar at the canning combine and the grain products combine.

On the whole the southern railroad loses on average about 200 cars daily on account of rolling stock standing idle for prolonged periods in enterprises' and organizations' sidings.

In Volgograd our correspondent V. Parshin visited the duty officer for the Volgograd division of the Volga railroad. He reports that as of the beginning of this year just 10 city and oblast enterprises held up more than 33,000 cars. For this the enterprises incurred fines amounting to R1,327,000.

Fines have been a regular occurrence this year. A report by I. Zakirov, our Kazan correspondent, proves this once again.

The Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] People's Control Committee in conjunction with the transportation prosecutor's office checked the use of railcars at the industrial construction combine of the "Tatagropromstroy" association and the "Tatlesstroyopttorg" enterprise. It is not worth citing the long list of omissions and shortcomings exposed. These are just individual facts characterizing the state of affairs in sidings. At the "Tatagropromstroy" association's industrial-construction combine the average delay of railcars waiting to be unloaded is 13 hours as against 3 hours.

The picture is the same at the "Tatlesstroyopttorg" enterprise.

We asked N. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, to comment on our correspondents' reports:

"Let me cite just two examples. A car loaded with sugar normally supplies the immediate needs [razovyye potrebnosti] of a city with a population of 20,000. A carload of grain provides bread for a whole week for the same city. This is only one car. Let us calculate the loss of a train, of hundreds of trains. This means a colossal disaster and incalculable losses. We lost 100,000 cars alone in connection with the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The railroad workers cannot be cleared of blame for the situation which has been created. One thing is plain: Their performance is worse.

But there is another side. Can the thousands of cars in Leningrad carrying goods in extremely short supply really be allowed to wait their turn to be unloaded? The local authorities are to blame."

As the Ministry of Railways informed us yesterday, the situation concerning the Transcaucasian and Azerbaijan Railroads has stabilized. The regular movement of freight trains has started. This should reduce the general pressure.

Government Inaction Criticized

NC1410150589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, Azerbaijan's economic blockade of Armenia has done immense damage to our republic. The situation is most acute in the earthquake zone where production is facing critical problems because of the lack of fuel. Our correspondent Sevada Ghazaryan reports on the effects of the blockade on the Hayelektrasharzhich production union and the moral-psychological atmosphere it has created.

[Begin recording] [Ghazaryan] The meeting organized by the political enlightenment hall [as heard] was attended by representatives of GARUN, AVANGARD, and KOMSOMOLETSK. In a speech, Albert Stepanyan, manager of [name indistinct], condemned Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and appealed to the youths present to remain calm and resist all provocations.

[Stepanyan] The key to truth belongs to no one person. All of us together must search for truth along democratic paths. We [word indistinct] so that the representatives of the people of various strata, so that people with differing (?views), can use this key and pass on this key to everyone through their representatives. The primary goal of our republic today is to achieve ethnic unity.

[Ghazaryan] In his speech, (Meruzhan Terghulanyan), correspondent for GARUN youth monthly, spoke about the current issues affecting young people, their objectives, and close relations with diaspora Armenians, and pointed out that the monthly should become the organ expressing the problems of the time. He added that today there is only one problem troubling everyone: the just solution of the NKAO problem.

[(Terghulanyan)] A blockade is the most savage and inhuman act that can be perpetrated against any nation. A blockade is a state of war. In other words, it takes on the dimensions of a war. It is a [word indistinct] war, and one between so-called democratic, fraternal, etc republics. When the central government does abolutely nothing to stop this, then I cannot believe that this blockade will end in 2 or 3 days. How can this be? In Afghanistan the Soviet Army was able to protect road traffic when all roads to Kabul were blocked and there were constant attacks. Now it is unable to do anything in Azerbaijan, in a Soviet republic. But there is something it can do. Many of the comrades in the leadership can definitively resolve this issue and frighten [words indistinct]. (?Our people) are good people. They have seen worse things than the blockade. Ultimately, we can choose another path. For example, it occurs to me that our deputies in Moscow could officially announce that if the blockade continues, then we will have to open up our airports to overseas flights, be they from NATO members or from other places. No other consideration is as important as people's lives. There is nothing else we can do. We will open our airports and tell the world that it can (?fly here). There is nothing else we can do. The alternative is for us to open a path through Iran. Today we (?have the Georgian route) [word indistinct]. Let them continue their blockade. Let Moscow procrastinate. We are not afraid. There are many who say that Moscow is afraid of the Azerbaijan (?factor). What does the Azerbaijan (?factor) mean? There is the Armenian (?factor) too. (?In short), this is the issue facing our people, who are full of good will. But does this mean that we should be annihilated? [end recording]

[Unidentified speaker] Our people should emerge victorious in the fight [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Ministry Update on Security

LD1310201989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] A report from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs temporary press center in Armenia. In the past 24 hours 19 crimes were committed and 15 emergency incidents occurred in the republic, in the course of which 5 people died and 12 were injured. Of the total number of crimes, 3 were solved in the past 24 hours. In addition, militia employees solved five crimes committed earlier. Two wanted criminals were detained.

The central press has reported that train traffic to Armenia has been resumed. However the real state of affairs shows that among the cargoes being received very little gasoline is arriving, as was the case before. Moreover, most of the supplies are coming on the Transcaucasus Railway, and only yesterday 17 tanker-cars with gasoline arrived on the Azerbaijan Railway. In connection with this, there are instances of gasoline being stolen. At 1445 a freight train arrived at Masis station. When it was examined, militia and USSR Ministry of Railways employees established that 21 tonnes of gasoline had been stolen. An investigation is under way.

The situation concerning the safe keeping of other freight being carried by rail also continues to be difficult. At Yerevan station, when wagons that had arrived from Idzhevan were being unloaded, the theft of 13 television sets worth R9,360 was discovered in one of them; in addition, it was discovered that 9 bales of cotton fabric worth R900 were missing.

At 1730 yesterday, at the 5-km point of the Khnatsakh-Goris road in the Armenian SSR, an armed group of people from the Azerbaijani village of Malyy Bey in Lachinskiy rayon fired on three vehicles and set fire to a tractor. Two citizens were hurt—Arikilyan, who has a gunshot wound in the shoulder, and Stepanyan who has a wound in the left leg. There have been no unsanctioned meetings, marches, or demonstrations in the republic.

Arutyunyan Comments on Blockade

NC1110153489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The work schedule of the USSR people's deputies from Armenia is extremely heavy. On 8 October, they met and reviewed those issues which will be discussed during the USSR Supreme Soviet. On the same day, the regular consultation meeting of the Armenian deputies group took place. It was chaired by Suren Arutyunyan, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade Arutyunyan briefed the deputies in detail about the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session during which the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum of September 1989 and the progress of earthquake relief efforts in Armenia were discussed. He stated that during the Politburo meeting a serious and comprehensive discussion developed on the subject of the situation in the disaster zone. The attention of party, soviet, and economic bodies and USSR ministries and departments was drawn to the grave shortcomings in the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Minsters concerning the restoration of housing, social services , manufacturing, and agricultural enterprises. Special attention was paid to the need to speed up construction and restoration work in view of the approaching winter. The Politburo meeting stressed the need for urgent measures to ensure the unimpeded functioning of the railways and the timely transportation of vital economic goods to Armenia.

Comrade Arutyunyan analyzed the situation that has developed in the republic as a result of the blockade and spoke about the measures adopted by union bodies and the republican leadership in order to ensure normal railway traffic. He pointed out that, despite some positive movements, it is still too early to talk about the full restoration of railway traffic via Azerbaijan.

During the meeting there was a constructive exchange of views on the upcoming discussion of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast problem at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR people's deputies expressed their views on the ownership, land, and lease laws slated for debate at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The deputies spoke about (?the work done) by the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There was a review of many of the issues disturbing the people of the Armenian republic. The USSR people's deputies who spoke at the meeting were Lobov, Arutyunyan, Ambartsumyan, Igityan, Abramyan, Sarkisyan, Istanboltsyan, Abramyan, Yenokyan, Arutyunyan and Voskanyan.

NKAO Deputies Condemn Azeri 'Sovereignty'

NC1610131689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Oct 89

["Statement to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the delegation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO)"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct (ARMENPRES)—ARMENPRES special correspondents report: NKAO Deputy Z. Balayan submitted the following statement to A. Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during the morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

We recognize that the USSR Supreme Soviet is not a monolithic body; this is logical and natural. We realize that not everyone shares the concerns of the Armenians who make up 80 percent of the NKAO population, concerns which focus not on the future but on the present. It would be deplorable if some, acting out of their "own" considerations, do not try to understand us. We, who have witnessed Sumgait and blockade, are asking not for pity but for understanding of the worsening crisis of our fellow citizens, who daily face possible tragedy and even banishment from their own country. This danger has existed since 25 September when the relevant constitutional legislation on the so-called sovereignty of Azerbaijan went into effect. Nevertheless, the real issue is not sovereignty. Putting aside the fact that the legislation blatantly contradicts the spirit and letter of the USSR Constitution and all questions about the quality of this legislation, it is the fact that is in effect that is important. Suffice it to say that the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], acting with contempt toward the basic rights and national security concerns of the Armenians living in its terrritory, adopted this special legislation despite the consensus that these rights should be protected by international conventions and Soviet law.

This legislation was passed at the very time when blood is being shed in the region and when it is impossible to transport not only bread and fuel for the disaster area, but also prosthetic devices for handicapped children, over Azerbaijan railways. At a time when the country is in the throes of a truly alarming and critical situation, the annihilation of the autonomous oblast has been threatened in a way that adds fuel to the fire. According to the legislation, the leadership could declare special situations in certain regions—that is, in Armenian-inhabited regions—by introducing forms of special administration to be enforced solely by Azeri SSR bodies.

At a time when the whole country, which is facing a multitude of unresolved issues, is not just observing developments in the region but trying to extinguish the

flames, suddenly legislation is adopted which is intended to remind the suffering people of Karabakh that the Azerbaijan SSR has the right to secede from the USSR. If it were only Azerbaijan that would secede! Under the legislation, the right to secede is to be exercised through a referendum to be called by their own supreme soviet and held with the participation of the entire population of the republic. As we see it, it is not only sovereignty as such or the right of secession from the USSR that is at issue. This action is without precedent. In concrete terms, it concerns the fate of the entire people and their country; it concerns the Armenians in Azerbaijan, of whom only 180,000, concentrated in the NKAO, Shaumyan Rayon, and Gedashen subrayon, remain out of a population of 700,000 and who could at any moment find themselves outside the USSR structure. Azerbaijan could secede and take with it people who have been cultivating the land for thousands of years. I think, according to Lenin, socialism first of all means the burgeoning of nations. The Armenians of Azerbaijan could find themselves outside USSR with their centuries-old historical monuments, among which are masterpieces of Christian civilization. The Armenians would be forced to leave behind the graves of their ancestors and their unique stone crosses.

Esteemed deputies, do you remember that in past centuries the Russian and Armenian people shed their blood during the joint struggle against the common enemy so they could be reunited within a unitary and integrated state. Having escaped the rapacious grasp of the Ottoman pashas, the Armenians might now again come under the yoke of Turkey where almost two million of our compatriots were massacred in 1915.

People might try to reassure us by arguing that the NKAO is, so to speak, securely enshrined in Article 87 of the USSR Constitution, that all the autonomous formations—there are 38 of them in our country—have been set up by the USSR and so their fate can only be determined by the USSR, that in accordance with Article 173 of the USSR Constitution all laws and other state acts are legislated on the basis of and in accordance with this Constitution, and that the Azerbaijan SSR refers to itself as an "inalienable part of the USSR" with all the responsibilities this entails. Although I understand this argument, it does us no good to keep referring to the Soviet Constitution. The fact is that Azerbaijan SSR legislation is formulated on the basis of and in accordance with some other constitution. I quote from the minutes of the speech to the session by Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee: "All Azeri refugees came to our republic, whereas the Armenians just dispersed in all directions. Do you understand what I wanted to say? Article 70 of the Constitution must be reformulated. It should state that a republic's land and territory are indivisible, just as it is written in Turkey's Constitution."

The endorsement of such legislation at such an explosive time not only relegates the basic problem to the sphere of interethnic conflict, also pursues an unconcealed objective: to terrorize the central government by coercion and blackmail and prevent its constitutional and democratic functioning.

In view of this extremely alarming situation, which was greatly exacerbated by the adoption of the legislation that discriminates against national minorities, we, the deputies elected from the NKAO, (?ask) for the immediate cancellation of that legislation and for the expediting of a political solution to the tragically prolonged NKAO problem.

Travails of Serving in NKAO Described

PM1610120389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Major A. Ushar under the "Discussion Without Equivocation" rubric: "Service in the Special District"]

[Text] Here in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] special district, time is measured not in months and weeks but in days. In answer to the traditional question "Have you been in Stepanakert long?" few soldiers will reply: 1 month, 3 months, 6 months.... They give a precise figure: 85 days, 112 days, 176 days.... Some of these days are like a short- or long-distance race (depending on the tenseness of the situation). A hurdle race, moreover. Alas, not everyone succeeds in reaching the finish line OK.

I admit that I felt awkward for some reason in the face of the officers and soldiers who have taken the city under their protection: For I am going away, while they are staying. In a semi-frontline situation, where they are engaged in shooting.

They are shooting but there is no enemy. They are all their compatriots. You just sometimes catch sharp, unkind eyes on you. You may quite easily encounter exceptionally offensive words in this hidden city, where even cabs with "for hire" signs in the windshield are employed by the troops. Except that their drivers are not on the mess list at the subunits.

It means nothing to say that the situation in the city is alarming. The situation is unpredictably complex.

The internal troops help the local population, who have found themselves owing to someone else's illwill at the epicenter of interethnic enmity, to the best of their ability. They protect Armenians from Azerbaijani bullets, knives, and stones. They use their bodies to shield Azerbaijanis from Armenian bullets, knives, and stones. They risk their lives every day, every hour to save the lives of people in misfortune.

What help are the internal troops given? People both at the central level—the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Internal Troops Main Administration—and at the local level—Major General V. Safonov, commandant of the special district, and Colonel V. Skorobogatov, chief

of the commandant's office political department—do what they can. But not everything depends on their efforts. I am convinced that this question can be resolved much more simply and rapidly than the nationalities question.

We receive a considerable number of letters from NKAO residents, each signed by tens and hundreds of people, bearing words of thanks to the servicemen. Kind words are something, but here is the rub: You will not get very far in building houses or producing food with kind words alone. Yet it is often this daily bread that the internal troops lack.

"The conditions in which our 'blue berets' have found themselves can only be described as tolerable by stretching the truth a very long way," political worker Lieutenant Colonel G. Dmitriyev shared his painful thoughts. "At first they were stationed in a school building. But they'd only organized a few amenities when the local authorities—the new academic year was at hand—refused them hospitality...."

"Certainly, there was a good reason for this, but it is always easier to find the cause than eliminate the problem," Maj I. Yekimenko, battalion commander, explained. "Why do people have this attitude toward us? For instance, my guys found old and bent rusty pipes on a scrap heap—they were forced by necessity—they fixed and welded them together to make sports equipment: Necessity is the mother of invention. These pipes which no one needed unexpectedly turned out to be virtually priceless. They were not lying about there useless but were lying there. In reserve...."

It is both funny and sad, but but militia officials—although they are subject to the same ministry—compelled the battalion commander to issue a receipt saying that he "would return the pipes...in their original condition" on departure.

"We were thrown out of the school and pitched a canvas camp on the outskirts of the city," G. Dmitriyev continued. "A tent is a tent: You can shelter from the rain and sun in it, but it is hard to spend the winter in one. We had to do something. We proposed a way out: 15 railroad cars with numbered seats and 2-3 compartmentalized cars... Who will take it on themselves to calculate how many of these cars are rusting in thousands of railroad sidings?"

Whoever the troops asked for assistance—including the Ministry of Railways—no one refused. On the contrary, the option was considered quite acceptable straight off and people responded reassuringly: We will look. They are still looking....

It is appropriate to recall that 80 percent of officers from the unit stationed here do not have apartments. You can imagine the dismay in officers' hearts. Their wives and children, who rent wretched hovels and summer accommodation for considerable sums of money, of course, or "who stay" with relatives for months throughout the Union, are deprived not only of husbands and fathers but also of family homes.

I can foresee an objection—but who has an easy life here in Stepanakert? I do not accept this objection. There are no volunteers here, but there are soldiers who have sworn to be loyal to the fatherland and fulfill their duty. When it set up the special district, the government should have taken care to ensure that people who bore such a heavy burden do not feel forgotten.

I will say the following brief words about equipment: During the first 6 months only one in four servicemen from Lt Col N. Gnes' subunit had a bulletproof vest. This figure had risen to one in two by the time of our fall meeting. This means that Nikolay Ilich himself and all his officers "have not been allocated" bulletproof vests. The platoon commander could not provide himself with equipment, leaving a soldier defenseless! The extremists' tactics are as old as the hills: Eliminate the commanders first of all.

Now a word about something which false modesty makes us ashamed to mention—money. Allegedly well-off officers are hard up: A platoon commander has a base pay of little more than R100 for doing his job. There is no need to hastily add to his laughable sum—at today's levels—the additional money he is paid for his rank. There is no need to pass this off as something it is not. In my view, it is a monthly check in payment as it were for his constant readiness and duty to be the first to leap out of the dugout, for a life of routine where sleep, meals, and personal time are, however, by no means compulsory features. It is lastly an advance covering the possibility of, so to speak, getting in the way of a bullet or a bayonet. So there is no question of "astronomical" sums of money. The base pay is humiliatingly low for the post.

Let's do some calculations, Lt Col V. Chekmarev, deputy unit commander, suggested. Take the average sum of money which is allocated to an officer on the payroll. Some is used to pay for the family's rented apartment and some to feed himself and his relatives (it is always more costly when they live apart). A considerable amount is spent on traveling home every 60 days. Yet only the return journey to the unit's basing point is paid, while many officers' families are scattered throughout the Union. What else is left? Debts...

Now a word about soldiers' security. What can a serviceman in the internal troops do? How many times have I been cornered by the following question: "Why do we respond to bullets flying straight at us with warning shots into the air? And to stones raining down, each of which may be the last for a young guy who is a 'link' in a troop chain? And to knives flying at sentries?""

What warning is conveyed by a soldier's shot in the air? It does, of course, warn of the possibility of weapons being used to strike back. But those people who do not give a cent for soldiers' lives have already discovered perfectly well that the soldiers will not fire on them—

they cannot bring themselves to. They are afraid of public opinion—it sometimes interprets humanity in an extremely one-sided fashion. And the shakiness and instability of the internal troops' legal state position as a whole: It is paradoxical that soldiers defend citizens' rights and dignity but are themselves in effect deprived of rights and humiliated and have no less need of firm ground underfoot than the people they are defending.

Soldiers understand that they must do their duty. But do "civilians" understand that if these are special times in this special district, their attitude to people in military uniform must also be a special one?

Armenian Legal Affairs Committee Meets

NC1310123189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee State, Legal, and Political Affairs Committee has held a meeting. Taking part in the meeting were lawyers, law lecturers at higher education establishments, and officials of the republic's law enforcement bodies. The basic trends of the committee's activities and the role of party organizations, the efficiency of the law enforcing bodies in the creation of a socialist law-governed government, the implementation of judicial-legal reforms for the consolidation of the legal state order in the republic, as well as the implementation of the party's political principles in strengthening the fight against lawlessness, were studied.

The committee heard a report by Arutyunyan, member of the committee and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic internal affairs minister, on the prevailing situation in the republic. They also heard a report by Martirosyan, member of the committee and Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau candidate and chairman of the People's Control Committee, on the trains destined for Armenia and loaded with cargo of importance to the national economy An exchange of views followed. The results of the committee's meeting were summarized by Gevorkyan, chairman of the Armenain Communist Party State, Legal, and Political Affairs Committee and chairman of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court.

Conference Notes Armenian Preparations for Winter

PM0310100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[ARMENPRESS-TASS report: "Attention to Preparations for Winter"]

[Text] V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies, who is in Armenia, has held a conference to discuss the progress of preparations for the 1989-1990 fall-winter period in the parts of the republic that were hit by the earthquake. The conference was attended by leading officials from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, representatives of the USSR ministries and departments which helped to deal with the consequences of the disaster, leaders of construction and planning organizations, and representatives from city and rayon soviets in the disaster zone.

The conference participants were particularly concerned about the question of housing people who have been left homeless. In order to urgently resolve this matter it is planned to accelerate the supply of prefabricated housing and to increase the pace of construction of heat supply networks and other utilities. It was noted that the pace of work is being hampered by the poor increase in the production of local construction materials and cement. Because of this they will have to be imported from other regions, which will increase the already great pressure on rail transport and the cost of the work. In this connection the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers was instructed to implement specific measures to resolve the problem of supplying construction sites with local construction materials.

The conference also examined the question of the work of rail transport. Violations of its activity on Azerbaijani territory recently have caused serious interruptions to construction and to housing and municipal services' preparations for the winter. A further failure to take measures to ensure normal rail traffic would lead to the undermining of the preparations for work under winter conditions being made by enterprises and housing and municipal services in the parts of Armenia hit by the earthquake.

In order to provide people with housing, schools, and hospitals as quickly as possible it has been decided to increase the pace of work in the earthquake zone even in winter. The conference participants examined in detail the program of measures for preparations for this complex period. These include restoring and building roads in areas of new construction, the timely creation of reserves of materials and fuel, the preparation of equipment and hardware, and other tasks.

Specific decisions were made on all issues.

Commentary on Lithuanian Communist Party Plenum

LD1310120489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Edvinas Butkus commentary]

[Text] The 25th plenum of the LCP [Lithuanian Communist Party] Central Committee opened in Vilnius today and will continue its work tomorrow. On the motion of party leader Algirdas Brazauskas in his opening speech the following agenda was adopted: On the discussion about restructuring the Lithuanian Communist Party activity and convening its 20th congress; as well as an organizational issue as the second item on the agenda. The latter issue was not utilized by Algirdas

Brazauskas and on one of the participants did in fact ask him to, but as it turned out during the discussion another resignation of some of the least active, or in other words most conservative, members of the Central Committee is expected.

Besides, some of the Central Committee bureau members were also criticized as being inactive, but in this case, too, the plenum can only accept their resignation, as it has no right to dismiss them. That much about the second item on the agenda, which will most probably be debated tomorrow.

This morning's telephone conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Algirdas Brazauskas served as a prelude to the plenum. Algirdas Brazauskas informed the participants about Mikhail Gorbachev's arguments which, according to the speaker, the plenum could or rather ought to be guided by when passing resolutions. First, Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the past few months the Soviet Union's Communist Party had made significant progress along the road of restructuring. This was first of all demonstrated by the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities issue held in September and the decision to bring forward the 28th party congress and to convene it in October next year. By way of preparation for the congress, the party's draft new program and rules will be published for partywide and nationwide discussion next spring or at the beginning of the summer. In this case the Communist parties of all the union republics would have to hold congresses to elect their delegates and to shape their opinion of the above draft.

Going by such logic, the convening of the Lithuanian Communist Party congress at the end of Decemeber this year, as it was fixed back in June, seems not necessary, and it might be called in the spring of next year. That was Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, he replied that there were different trends and consequently different views in Lithuania. Besides, a congress with democratic representation has already been agreed upon.

Algirdas Brazauskas pointed out that he would make a large speech to sum up the results of the plenum's discussions. So, in his opening speech he only mentioned the principle subjects to be debated. No doubt the latest proposal made by Algirdas Brazauskas and based on the opinion of some Central Committee members is to convene a forum of Lithuania's Communists in December instead of the earlier planned congress and to hear the Communists' opinion there as well as adopt some resolutions. Such as, for instance, on disassociating from Stalinism, on the elections platform, and the date of the forthcoming congress to be held in spring. The number of delegates was also proposed to be debated—whether the figure should be about 4,000 or just 1,000. The processes taking place in Hungary and its experience were broadly referred to.

Well, and no doubt the most important issue to be debated, is the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party—the degree of its self-dependence and at what stage it will be achieved. This essential issue is arousing heated debate throughout Lithuania and, as Algirdas Brazauskas put it, there is an immense and obvious danger of the Lithuanian Communist Party splitting up.

Twenty-nine people spoke in the debates today. According to one of the speakers, three trends are now manifest within the party: a radical trend, the consistent line pursued by the party leadership, and the conservative one. Nearly all the speeches made fell under this classification, remarkably. The consistent line was (?grounded) by Central Committee Bureau members, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Vytautas Astrauskas; Prime Minister Vytautas Sakalauskas; and the Central Committee's secretary for ideology, Valerjonas Baltrunas. In his opinion, in December a party conference must be held. The relations between the LCP and the Soviet Union's Communist Party must be constantly perfected. But to sever them now all together would be an unforgivable step.

The extreme right was marked by the speech of the former head of the Central Committee Ideology Department, Juozas Kuolelis. The separatist idea, he said, had been forced upon the party by its enemies. It did not emerge naturally. By constant criticism of the center, which has changed (?it markedly), the Lithuanian leadership is trying to justify its inactivity. According to the speaker there was no other alternative than to take part in renovating the Soviet Federation on the basis of the platform adopted by the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The most radical proposals, perhaps, with solid substantiation provided, were voiced by party secretary of the Vilnius Conservatoire, (Vytautas Sereika). In his opinion a big 4,000-strong forum of the Lithuanian Communist Party ought to be held on 18 November, while the congress must be convened in December. The first forum should vote whether it is expedient to found a new Lithuanian Communist Party or not. As (Vytautas Sereika) put it: We must speak about the new Lithuanian Communist Party and the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the only thing which will determine the right decisions is the degree of our maturity.

So much for the debates on the first day of the plenum. Their most characteristic feature being endless repetitions of the same thing. By tomorrow, after all the talking, the time of decisions will nevertheless have to come.

Draft Party Program Tenets Described

PM1310092789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 1

[Address by K. Glavyatskas, I. Karosas, A. Lekis, I. Minkyavichyus, S. Razma, and S. Stachekas, coordinators of the Working Group To Prepare the Draft Program under the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for the Preparation of Program

Documents: "On the Fundamentals of the Lithuanian Communist Party Program"]

[Text] Realizing the importance to the party and Lithuania of the preparation of the new Program of the Lithuanian Communist Party, evaluating political activeness in the republic and the country, and wishing to explain the criteria for our activity in drawing up the draft Program of the Lithuanian Communist Party, we declare:

—radical perestroyka of the economic and political system throughout the country is necessary and irreversible;
—perestroyka is not taking place uniformly and identically in the various republics and communist parties;
—attempts to artificially find identical ways to suit everyone are hopeless and slow down perestroyka.

We believe that in the transitional period of perestroyka the Communist Party of each republic:

—taking the principles of amicability and equality of rights as its basis, coordinating its actions with the CPSU Central Committee, and evaluating without fail the interests, realities, and potential forces of the republic and the nation, must act independently;
—preserving the common ideological platform which unites the republics' communist parties and which is based on a Marxist dialectical attitude toward reality, is obliged to encourage perestroyka, considering the chief task to be the creation of a democratic socialist society;
—must cooperate with all political forces which strive to realize the universal principles of humanism.

Thus, the Lithuanian Communist Party, wishing to be a political force in the process of creating an independent, rule-of-law Lithuanian state, must also be an independent party.

Relations between the republics' communist parties and the CPSU Central Committee or possible new structures will come to light in the course of perestroyka and will depend on the creative activity and good will of each Communist Party.

The independent activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party in this period must not be interpreted as splitting the CPSU. Radical perestroyka in the party demands nonstandard decisions in the name of the common goal of perestroyka—human freedom and the realization of social justice.

We are convinced that the creation of a democratic socialist society founded on the common principles of humanism depends on all political forces inside and outside Lithuania and on amicable determination to cooperate on parity principles. Continuing to improve the fundamentals of the Program of the Lithuanian Communist Party, we hope that:

—the common goal uniting all democratic forces will be the basis for businesslike discussions and proposals;
—the diversity of opinions on questions of tactics will serve to improve the drafts when preparing a version acceptable to the congress;
—the democratic principle will prevail in clashes of different opinions
—every opinion expressed is valuable insofar as it serves the chief goal;
—contradictory opinions will be discussed in the course of seeking points of contact in a broader interpretation (an alliance of democratic forces, associations, and so forth).

Wishing both the Communists and all the people of Lithuania fruitful discussions, we hope that the ability to adopt the most correct decision at the decisive moment will be the best confirmation that we have chosen the correct path and are ready to take it.

Hoping that the draft fundamentals of the Program of the Lithuanian Communist Party will be published for discussion in the next few days, we ask all the republic's Communists to submit their comments and proposals for improving this important document.

Revolt Reported in Kaunas Party Organization

90UN0052A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Oct 89 p 2

[V. Burbulis report: "Without Extraneous Elements"]

[Text] The party organization numbers more than 23,000 communists in Kaunas, Lithuania's second city and the largest industrial and scientific and technical center in the republic. Before perestroyka the city's communists lived the quiet life, voting at party conferences and meetings and reaching all decisions in a friendly manner, unanimously. Several years ago they were just as friendly when they elected the city committee [gorkom] first secretary R. Rimaytis, who was known as a man who supported the good old traditions of the command-bureaucratic system.

Then suddenly, a bolt from the blue: The whole republic has heard about the "mutiny" in the Kaunas party organization. A group of communists that includes some rayon committee [raykom] and scientific establishments' secretaries published in the city newspaper KAUNO TIESA an open letter containing a proposal to hold a joint plenum of the city and rayon party committees (there are three in Kaunas) to discuss the political situation in the city and the position in the party organization, and to express its opinion on the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The debate at the plenum was sharp. R. Rimaytis and the bureau that he heads were subjected to many criticisms. A working group was set up to draw up a proposal for a new management structure for the city party organization. As a result, R. Rimaytis offered his resignation, and a plenum of the city party committee 6 weeks later satisfied the request from the first secretary. At that same plenum a decision was reached to hold an extraordinary

city accountability-and-election party conference and elect new party leaders at it.

The conference lasted 4 days. Everything about it was unusual: for example, for the first time the question was raised of themselves eliminating all three rayon party committees and giving new functions to the city committee as the sole spokesman for the will of all communists in Kaunas. This decision implied that 64 officials in the apparatuses of the three raykoms were dismissed. The commission for preparations for and the holding of the extraordinary party conference proposed that the primary party organizations—there are more than 440 of them in the city—themselves recommend communists to make up the city party committee. On the eve of the conference KAUNO TIESA published the names of 242 candidates, but only 100 were to be elected. The commission also generalized the proposals from the communists on the personnel makeup of the gorkom bureau and secretariat.

The accountability report, presented by gorkom second secretary Z. Kazakyavichyus, provided an analys of the political situation in the city and republic and the mood in the party organizations. During the first 9 months of this year, the report stated, 465 people had handed in their party documents, while during the same period only 58 people had been accepted by the party. It must be cause for alarm that almost 1,000 communists are delinquent in the payment of their dues, while some party organizations are adopting decisions to reduce contributions made to the party cashbox. It is against the backdrop of such process that sharp debate is now taking place in the party organizations in the city and republic about the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Twenty-seven delegates spoke at the conference. The discussion was interesting and self-critical. However, in the interests of objectivity it must be emphasized that in the statements by some of the delegates there was a lack of elementary debating standards and human ethics. The speeches of particular orators contained unjustified criticism of the mass media. There were also statements (not many, it is true) containing demands for the separation of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the CPSU, and calls for a return to the "good times" of the old bourgeois order.

Vitautas Arbachyauskas was elected first secretary and bureau member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Kaunas Gorkom. More than half of the party gorkom bureau and its secretariat was replaced. The party conference adopted a decision on the self-elimination of the three city party raykoms.

Editor Cekuolis Reacts to PRAVDA Article

LD1610124089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 38, 21-27 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Algimantas Cekuolis (chief editor, GIMTASIS KRASTIS, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy), entitled "When You Wish To Hit Someone—(Any) Stick Will Do;" under the rubric "Reply"]

[Text] It appeared as if the Moscow PRAVDA was incapable of suprising us with anything anymore. The activities of that newspaper, in regard to the Baltic countries, may be labeled in varied ways: political, diversifying, threatening, major state-like etc. Its activity, however, can not be referred to as journalistic. PRAVDA staff members come to Lithuania (this paper still does not have a Lithuanian correspondent who would be acceptable to both the editorial office and the Lithuanian Communist Party) not in search of the truth, not for the purpose of recounting how our people, and also the Lithuanian communists live, but to collect isolated trash along the small peripheries of our stormy political process from which to fashion a portrait of the republic. The task of the reactionary staff is very clear and it is threefold: by threatening to stop "the spread of the "Lithuanian plague" throughout the entire country; to enflame the minds with a new crusade to the Baltic countries; to inspire anew the crumbling ranks of stagnators and chauvinists in Lithuania itself. Truly a "collective organizer."

Another matter rests in the fact that our short-sighted hotheads often serve the Pravdists with their activities. Naturally, one cannot regard these as decisive—in their absence, one could always dispatch 10 other provocateurs to the streets. That is how it's done.

In the absence of authentic provocations, some are manufactured.

On 13 September PRAVDA printed a huge article by Georgiy Ovcherenko, "Restructuring And Sajudis." In it V. Landsbergis is accused of "factually allowing himself to dictate to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet how to hold elections to the Republic's Supreme and local soviets," of distorting facts in stating, "that many Russians in Lithuania as well as in Russia supported our (i.e. Sajudis) goals" (of course!—A. C.), that non-Lithuanians will lose many of their rightful citizens' rights in the Lithuania of the future." G. Ovcherenko once again spreads the slander about Soviet military grave desecration in Lithuania.

We addressed our questions to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and received the following official answer: no military graves have been desecrated in Lithuania. (Certain militaristic style and Stalinist genre monuments, but not graves, were destroyed or damaged.)

The "nail" of the aforementioned article is the Gotland Declaration, which has been signed this year by K. Bobelis, V. Landsbergis, K. Motieka, A. Buracas, I. Lukoseviciene, C. Kudaba, A. Terleckas and J. V. Paleckis.

The fact that only the Lithuanian version of the declaration was signed is well-known. It appears some nearsighted individual, in this instance from overseas, inserted the words "Soviet-occupied Lithuania" in the

English translation and pasted in the signature photocopies. This was not done in the text in other languages. The truth, concerning this incident, was reported by TIESA, GIMTASIS KRASTAS, and Moscow's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

A month has passed—and again PRAVDA has dug up the manure-soaked fork. It feigns not to have any knowledge of the truth.

You can't kill with a cane of this type, however, you can enrage even a loyal individual, in search of common ground with the "mighty center"—that's right.

First of all, however, this publication is intended for a citizen living east of Nemenchina to the Bering Strait. He will read it and become frightened, paying less heed to the economic chaos, soap, butter and meat shortages and the fact that, in certain areas, bread coupons are required, that Baku is experiencing a general strike and new bodies are found every night in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

A certain individual will cower and keep quiet, while another will begin longing for a firm hand.

The game is obvious. Only one of its components is unclear—where did Georgiy Ovcherenko and PRAVDA obtain the falsified English text? No one has brought it to Vilnius from Gotland and no one has sent it from Gotland to Moscow.

"The hand?" Perhaps it was only one—added a line, pasted it and sent it, but perhaps there were two hands. They met midway and clasped one another.

There are some Moscow newspapers and journals one reads and can't put down. There are some others, though, that having read them one...no, I will not write down what one feels impelled to do and where one wants to go.

I shall put it more simply—those that are not worth reading and also should not be paid any attention to.

Latvian People's Front Chairman on Independence

AU1210123289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 12 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Dainis Ivans, chairman of the Latvian People's Front, by Michael Stoessinger: "The People Want to Decide in Free Self-Determination"; date and place not given]

[Text] Stoessinger: The Latvian People's Front has passed a new program. What is the central issue?

Ivans: We are striving for national independence. The people have to decide themselves, without orders from above. Whether they decide in favor of the right or the left is unimportant. We need pluralism at all levels. We need freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of opinion. We need cultural autonomy. These are all that we once had in Latvia.

Stoessinger: How do you want to enforce independence?

Ivans: Parliament—elections will be held next February—must enforce self-determination. This could also be done by means of a referendum.

Stoessinger: At which the many Russian people may also vote?

Ivans: Yes. It is not only the Latvians who want democracy. According to a television poll, 64 percent of the Russians and 57 percent of other minorities are willing to support us.

Stoessinger: Does secession also mean a turning away from Gorbachev's course of perestroyka?

Ivans: Perestroyka is not implemented by Gorbachev but by the people; and we will follow our path. The independence of the Baltic republics is a logical step. A unitarian Soviet Union can never be a democratic state. It was in particular the system of unitarianism which maneuvered the Soviet Union into a dead end. The utopia of the Soviet Union consists in the fact that it calls itself a state. The only form of existence of a compound is the existence of independent states.

Stoessinger: Are you striving for a federation?

Ivans: Yes. A federation is the only way out. First of all, we are very close to a Balto-Skandia Baltic federation. The unity of the three republics has never before been as strong as it is now. We want to achieve a common market by 1993.

Stoessinger: Are federative, independent Baltic states able to survive in economic terms?

Ivans: We want to resume our links with the West, which we had when we were an independent state. We want a free market economy. The Baltic Republics can play the role of a bridge. For Moscow it is better to have well-meaning friends in the West than to have evil, hungry, and dissatisfied slaves. And the system of the CPSU, the unity from above, is aimed at slavery. Our contacts with the people's fronts in Moldavia, the Ukraine, or Armenia show that a union of states is possible as we imagine it. This is a revolution that has never happened before.

Stoessinger: The entire east is in the grip of a stormy change. In the GDR the people rebelled last weekend [7-8 October].

Ivans: In the entire socialist camp, also in the GDR, people are striving to abolish totalitarianism. This is logical everywhere: Only free peoples and states can live together with equal rights and in friendship. Organizations like Solidarity in Poland are struggling against communism. In the Russian Republic, too, one feels the efforts of the respective groups of deputies with Boris Yeltsin in the lead.

Stoessinger: Do you not have to be afraid of military interventions?

Ivans: I think that we have to take care at any time, because our path toward sovereignty is so consistent. Despite decades of reprisals, our people have a good democratic tradition. Therefore, I do not think that we will provoke the central power to use force. In this connection, I would like to say one thing: Two weeks ago, on the fringe of the UN General Assembly, the World Organization of Free Latvians had contacts with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. He promised that Moscow would not use military force.

Gorbunov Cited on Changing Parliamentary Practice

LD0710053289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondents sent reports from the Latvian capital today.

[Begin recording] [D. Biryukov] Today's weather in Riga is splendid, the bright blue sky puts one into a serene mood, but far from everyone is in a serene mood. These people forming pickets in front of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Repubic Supreme Soviet are not in a serene mood. [video shows line of people holding banners].

The Supreme Soviet deputies who assembled for the Latvian parliament's 13th session are far from such a mood.

[Correspondent N. Kasyanova, off-screen] The plenum is to examine laws which are most important for the republic's fate, including a law on elections, i.e. how legislative and executive power will be implemented, who will enter the struggle for deputies' mandates so as later to influence the republic's political, social and economic life and the processes that are underway in Latvia, and how the supreme body of state power in the republic will be formed. In fact, an instrument of the future parliament is being developed. A week before the session, the Latvian society of Lawyers submitted a draft law on direct election of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] President and the corresponding changes in the republican constitution. No other union republic has undertaken the similar step so far. [video shows proceedings in the hall]

[I.O. Bisher, collegium member of the Latvian society of laywers] Our parliament is very young and has no traditions, and the parliamentaries are not used yet to parliamentarian activity. It cannot be ruled out that some decision can be passed on the strength of emotions and certain feelings, without serious examination. One has to say that in the USSR Supreme Soviet such perilous situations have occurred a couple of times and this could have taken place. This did not happen, but could have happened if part of the deputies had not desisted, pondered upon, and postponed adopting decisions. I think that a president, by using not an absolute veto but a certain postponing veto, could play a role. If a decision seems not a thoroughly thought-out one to him, if it can cause concern in some social stratum, or if he considers it too hasty owing to some other reasons, then he could postpone the coming into force of a given law and ask the supreme representative body to examine it once again. If the body examines it once again and confirms its decision, then it is another matter. This is another point, I think. But later, I think, this will result in a certain modification of functions between the president and the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The president should embody all the functions of head of state while the Presidium will then become the body that will be organizing the work of the Supreme Soviet in practice and nothing else. [video shows Bisher talking to N. Kasyanova]

[Biryukov] Anatoliy Valeryanovich [Gorbunov], I have only one question. Of course, it is linked to the work of today's session or maybe it is a bit broader and goes beyond it. The question is as according to hamlet: To be or not to be, a short and clear one. What will be, is normal evolution of discussion and parliamentary practice possible or will the extremists succeed in aggravating the situation?

[A.V. Gorbunov, Chairman, Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium] Well, I think progress of our republic's social life confirms the fact that an increasingly large number of people begin to understand that a normal course of parliamentary and, one could say, even political struggle—within the framework of parliamentarian struggle—yields a great deal. Today's session was different from the preceding ones precisely by the fact that the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium did not experience the crude political pressure that was in evidence, say, 6 months ago, sometimes, when when some public organizations used, in their political struggle, methods of blunt pressure. Today I would not say that about any of our public organizations, even about those advocating extreme views, so to speak. [video shows Gorbunov, correspondents speaking] [end recording]

Latvian Komsomol's Prospects Uncertain

PM0610100189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by journalist Karen Markaryan under the rubric "Every Day in This Spot": "Forward! Toward the Dawn?"]

[Text] Riga—Only a year or two ago membership of the Latvian Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] stood at a "round" figure. The 300,000-strong detachment of the republic Komsomol proudly bestrode various reports. But with every passing month the momentum of the victorious step "toward the dawn" slowed up until finally, at the plenum in September, Komsomol members asked themselves the questions: Where are we going and with whom?

Whereas you feel an irresistible urge to answer the first "where" with an exhaustive and thoughtful "nowhere in particular" ["na kudykinu goru"], the second part is

more difficult. First, there has been an appreciable thinning of the ranks of marchers: The republic Komsomol now has just 223,000 members. Second, those who are left themselves believe that "the All-Union Komsomol's time is past, for it is a formal organization which does not understand or reflect youth problems." This is one of the typical remarks in the questionnaires published in the brochure "Latvian Komsomol Members on the Komsomol and Themselves." And here is another characteristic quote—"Under conditions of a totalitarian state the Latvian Komsomol has turned from a democratic sociopolitical youth organization into a public monster with a vast bureaucratic structure"—a quote which belongs to...the leader of this very "monster"—Ivars Priyeditis, first secretary of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee. Do not be in a hurry to be amazed, however. The leaders of the republic Komsomol have not only summoned up the courage to tell themselves and others this bitter truth but also conducted a number of sociological studies among young people, whose results, quite frankly, do not inspire optimism.

"Whether you like it or not," I. Priyeditis said at the plenum, "our prestige is now being maintained at a certain level thanks to the privileges granted to the Komsomol in the spheres of the economy and external ties. But if these factors fall away, there will be a substantial drop in the number of the organization's members and in its financial potential, and without a comprehensive and carefully considered change in the forms of the Komsomol's activity and substance the organization's existence is in jeopardy. Some 86 percent of Komsomol members advocate a radical perestroyka of the Komsomol, and 71 percent—the creation of a new, alternative organization to the Komsomol."

I talked with Vitaliy Timermanis, a 10th-grader, a member of the Latvian International Front, leader of its youth section, and at the same time chairman of the republic's Student Youth Union. A thoughtful guy with an intelligent, lively gaze. But somewhat muddled in his ideas. He began speaking in some phrases learned by heart, as though at a rally. Or he declared, for example, that the All-Union Komsomol is being replaced by a new organization—the Student Youth Union, which will champion the rights of students. True, it then came to light that the union itself is only just an embryo.

And what of the International Front youth section? According to Vitaliy, it has 1,500 members. Quite frankly, however, International Front rallies are not packed with young people. It seems to me that this reflects, on the one hand, the reluctance of non-Lettish young people to cooperate with the International Front and, on the other, their mighty passiveness.

The Latvian People's Front [LPF] makes skillful use of its opponents' mistakes. I have spoken with all sorts of people here! With Ya. Legzdinsh, youth leader of the Environment Protection Club Duma; with I. Buyke, a first-year conservatoire student and the initiator of creating the Latvian Students Union; with the young radical A. Rikveylis; with the scout leader A. Modans. The scouts, incidentally, are only located in the LPF building, while categorically declaring their total independence and apoliticalness. Scouting—almost the exact prototype of our young pioneer organization—probably merits a separate discussion. I will say only that here I made the acquaintance of a veteran of this movement—Petr Fedyukov of the 134th Russian Scout Detachment in the thirties—saw many boys and girls who had gathered for an excursion, and learned of the restoration of ties with the international scouting movement.

Speaking of cooperation, incidentally, none of my young interlocutors in any of the fronts denied the need to conduct a dialogue with their coevals. Characteristic in this respect are the words of Ayris Rikveylis, a 16-year-old deputy at the 2d LPF Congress and, incidentally, a Komsomol member belonging to the radical wing of the People's Front: "Latvia's total independence is attainable if the republic's entire non-Lettish population also joins in realizing this task. And the Komsomol? It must not be disregarded. It is said to be dying, but this is not so. It is still a force. I think that the Latvian Komsomol, like the Lithuanian one, will pull out of the All-Union Komsomol. Particularly as secretaries in rural regions are very radically minded. But relations with the All-Union Komsomol must remain."

The attention of all primary organizations [pervichki] is probably now riveted on the future model of the Latvian Komsomol. The recent plenum adopted a new program and new statutes and proposed discussing them in every organization so as to decide everything once and for all at the upcoming congress in January.

"The new statutes propose various options," V. Parfenov, second secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, said. "This applies to relations not only with the All-Union Komsomol but also with the party and to determining the league's ideological basis."

I do not know what the future congress is preparing for us... Will the Latvian Komsomol remain a Komsomol—that is, a communist youth league—or will it be simply a youth organization? Will it abandon Lenin's name, as has happened in Lithuania?

"If the congress had been held last spring, when emotions prevailed more frequently, it would not have been difficult to guess the answers," V. Parfenov said. "But today a time for comprehension and for adopting sober decisions is coming."

Estonian Party Secretary on Reforms, Role of CPSU

AU1210124089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Oct 89 p 3

["HK" report: "Estonian Central Committee Secretary: The Army Still Works"]

[Text] Vienna—As secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee he is in a "difficult position" at present, sociologist Mik Tiitma, who was elected to this position 1 year ago, said at a press conference in Vienna on Wednesday [11 October]. Together with a Soviet delegation, he had participated in a congress on European integration in Bad Ischl, Upper Austria, at the invitation of the "European Federative Movement." His position is difficult because, as an Estonian, he wants the regional party organization to have a certain independence, its own face, so to speak, but at the same time he is convinced the the CPSU must remain the central authority in the country. However, the CPSU has in no way lost control over the reform movement. "The army still works," Tiitma said.

In any case, the question of "Marxism-Leninism" no longer is the central issue for the Estonians. They are striving much more for "deideologization" and for a "practical approach to social questions." First of all, the economy has to be developed—doubtlessly with the same mechanisms which capitalism uses. Only social justice must be preserved.

Asked about the forthcoming elections to the local soviets, the Central Committee secretary said that the People's Front, which is struggling for far-reaching independence from Moscow, will perhaps win half of the seats. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are in competition with the Communist Party, since the relationship between the two groups is "rather good." Some of the representatives of the People's Front have already been integrated into the country's leading bodiesm, vice versa, leading Communists are also members of the People's Front.

Tiitma is skeptical about the situation in Hungary: "The change of names or labels alone is not enough to overcome the situation, one also needs new contents."

Asked about the influence of the USSR on the GDR, M. Mironenkov, deputy director of the European Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, only gives the stereotypical answer: "Only the GDR people themselves can solve their internal problems."

Estonia's Toome on Nationalities Plenum

PM1310123389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with I. Toome, chairman of Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Council of Ministers by ETA special correspondent V. Tsion on first day of CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Without Surprises and Unexpected Developments"—first three paragraphs are V. Tsion introduction]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep—Without having arranged it, all the representatives of the "journalist corps" staying at the Estonian permanent mission gathered at the main entrance at 1830 hours, assuming that the first day of the CPSU Central Committee proceedings would end about then. That is what actually happened, and half an hour later the republic leaders arrived back at the mission.

The first and most important piece of news: V. Vyalyas had addressed the plenum although originally the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee had not been expected to take the floor until 20 September. The second piece of news: Estonian television reporters had managed to interview M. Gorbachev during the break and the republic television viewers had already been able to see this interview.

Turning to I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, I asked him to answer a number of questions, and having obtained his consent, I asked my first question:

[Tsion] What is your assessment of the first day of the CPSU Central Committee proceedings?

[Toome] In broad terms, everything that is contained in the CPSU draft platform was further developed in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report with minor additions. So that the draft platform and the report should be viewed as documents which mutually complement each other.

Frankly speaking though, I was expecting the report to contain a greater number of bold and radical solutions and innovations. However, beyond the propositions set out in the draft platform there was nothing particular in the report. It was, in my opinion, a relatively balanced speech which did not offend anyone and did not encroach on anyone's interests...

[Tsion] In your opinion, is a report like this a display of diplomacy, or simply unwillingness to "stir up a hornets nest."

[Toome] In my opinion it is an exercise in diplomacy. When discussing such a highly complex and sensitive problem as interethnic relations, where it is very easy to wound people's feelings, it is impossible, in my opinion to cite concrete examples or name names. So that even if there was criticism, for instance of the Baltic Republics, it rang out between the lines, as it were.

As for plenum participants' speeches, they did not add anything particularly new to what had already been said in the general secretary's report or contained in the draft platform. Concern was expressed in connection with existing conflicts, not just in the Baltic republics, but also in other regions, and in connection with the fact that there are relatively many such conflicts and that their causes have been neither identified nor eliminated. Unfortunately, no one has even pointed out the historic roots of these phenomena, and this testifies to the lack of an in-depth analysis. You get the impression that the plenum participants did not want to touch the roots which go back to the twenties and were engendered by distortions of the socialist nationalities policy. It is enough to recall the Stalin period, the "big brother" policy, the border policy, and so forth.... You could sense

that everyone somehow wanted to sidestep these tricky issues. The Baltic republics, too, came in for their share of criticism in some speeches. There were claims of both extremism and nationalism in the Baltic republics. But again it was done in general terms, as it were....

[Tsion] In this context, were the Baltic republics viewed as one region?

[Toome] Alas, yes. It was said that monuments and tombstones were being destroyed in the Baltic republics. You can feel that the union mass media have done their bit. The "anomalous concept of the Baltic republics with their nationalist aspirations," which they have created, has taken root in the minds of many people.

However, generally speaking, the plenum is going smoothly without any innovations or sharp ups and downs.

[Tsion] In this context, how do you assess the speech delivered at the plenum by the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee?

[Toome] First, the speech of V. Vyalyas was listened to very attentively, just like, incidentally, the speech delivered by Brazauskas, who was also given the floor today. In my opinion, Vyalyas' speech contained an in-depth analysis of the roots of the current situation in Estonia. These roots go 40 to 50 years back, that is 1939-1940 and the postwar period when the Stalinist regime became established. A historical and legal assessment of these deformations must be made. However, so far this has not happened. As a result of the absence of such an assessment two extremes are in evidence today. Some people yearn for a return to the Stalin years, while others would like to restore the bourgeois republic. However, at some point their aspirations converge, and both groups criticize the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. We are currently trying to consolidate those healthy forces which on the basis of a truthful approach to interethnic relations are capable of travelling forward. [passage omitted]

Russian Groups Prepare for Estonian Forum

90UN0014A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Dmitriy Mikhaylov, chairman of the board of the Society of Russian Culture, by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent E. Kekelidze: "The 'Russian Question' Should Be Resolved by the Russians Themselves"; date and place not given]

[Text] As has already been reported, at the third forum of the peoples of Estonia an entire day will be devoted to a discussion of the problems of the Russian community in the republic.

Our correspondent E. Kekelidze asked one of those attending the forum, the chairman of the board of the Society of Russian Culture, sociologist Dmitriy Mikhaylov, to talk about this in more detail.

[Kekelidze] Is there any kind of concrete program of action for the various public movements representing the interests of the Russian, or more accurately the Russian-speaking population in the republic? What are these movements?

[Mikhaylov] The main problem to be discussed at the forum is the so-called Russian question.

The question of the Russian community, which in fact is a potential association of various ethnocultural groups, is one that was raised several months ago by the political and cultural formations of the Russian-speaking population themselves. In particular, the Russian section of the People's Front, supported by the national-cultural societies, put forward the following slogan at its recent seminar in Narva: "The 'Russian question' must be resolved by the Russians themselves." Therefore one day of the forum is being devoted to debate and discussion between representatives of the Russian community on ways to resolve this question.

It is quite clear that the context of the discussion outside the framework of this question assumes that the Russian community should be an equal partner with the Estonian people in the formation of the republic's civic community. This must be very clearly underscored: This is a question of a quite painful process of considering the main task. The civic community cannot be of only one nationality.

[Kekelidze] Can you clarify the term "civic society"?

[Mikhaylov] Let us start from the other end, from the components of a civic society. We must take it as axiomatic that the Russian community in Estonia has not only a past, but also a future. And here the question arises: Should it present itself as an incoherent mass or as a well-organized community with an understanding of its own needs, tasks, and development goals? What we see now is a conglomerate of people called the Russian or the Russian-speaking population. It is a question of the formation of a self-organized social organism out of a formless conglomerate. The Estonian people are the only subject of their history. And the problem for them is henceforth to preserve themselves as a single subject. But for the communities that are neighbors to the Estonian people on Estonian territory the task is different.

But the formation of the Russian community as a social organism is essential not only for the Russians living here; it is also essential for the Estonian people: They cannot be effectively included in the European home if they are not an internal model of the home of the multinational civic world [mir].

[Kekelidze] A civic peace [mir]—in contrast to civil war? [play on words: Russian for "world" and "peace" is the same word]

[Mikhaylov] Yes. But in addition, the word "mir" in Russian also has another meaning—"community." The

creation of a community is an essential condition, a prerequisite for the peaceful resolution of all issues.

[Kekelidze] That is, a new stage is starting in the internal life of the republic?

[Mikhaylov] It might be said that, in fact, the period of purely political perestroyka in Estonia is coming to an end. It is now no longer possible to further restructure the superstructure of society without affecting the very system of society. If the leadership reforms in the government apparatus will continue to outstrip the development of the socioeconomic base, then this will be a great calamity. There is a real danger that policy will degenerate into political intrigue if political restructuring in society becomes a goal for its own sake. I explain the present crisis precisely by the fact that this threat of an explosion is becoming too real. And emergency measures must be implemented not at the level of political maneuvering of the "center-right-left" type; it is necessary to pay attention to another, nonpolitical axis of development; namely, social restructuring. And in this sphere almost nothing has been done. Even in the draft laws that are now being prepared for debate, all attention is given to political decisions. While social draft laws, which ensure the civic world, the social base for further development in the political sphere, are constantly put off for the future. I would say that we have exhausted the social resource inherent in the political laws now being adopted. And it is possible to carry out further political perestroyka only by bringing up the trailing social rear. Politicians must consider this new situation and understand that it is necessary to effect a sharp change in favor of resolving social problems and programs for social development.

[Kekelidze] But politicians sometimes postulate shifting the accent onto the economy, onto IME [Self-Managing Estonia].

[Mikhaylov] Unfortunately IME has become a form of politicization. In my opinion the main shortcoming in the IME program is the almost total lack of social projects in its foundation. It is a political-economic development program, while social programs are of secondary, even tertiary importance.

[Kekelidze] This postulation of the question is new and important, and it will obviously become a subject of discussion. But we have wandered too far from the theme of the forum. What movements and forces now represent the Russian-speaking population?

[Mikhaylov] Virtually the entire spectrum of forces in society is now represented, but their proportions are strongly distorted. Some claim full representation while others have not yet emerged from the shadows. The sharp increase in the importance of the national-cultural societies in the political conjuncture is not some subjective claim, but the objective necessity of a development factor, a factor in the threat that politics will become political intrigue. What is needed here is a self-critical consideration of their own activity by those political movements that sense they are losing their base. This is not the first month that the activity of the Russian section of the People's Front has been self-critically considered. Real preconditions exist for the collapse of the once unified Intermovement. The latest statements from the "October Interfront" leave no doubts about this. And here a very significant task arises; namely, consolidation of the intelligentsia as a conscious force of depoliticization; that is, of switching the energy that has been accumulated in the political sphere into the peaceful channel of social transformations.

[Kekelidze] Who specifically will take part in the discussion on "Russian day"?

[Mikhaylov] Primarily those who are in the Association of National-Cultural Societies, the Russian Cultural Society, and the Tartu Cultural Society. Then there are those no longer in the association: the Center for Youth Initiative, the Center for Russian Culture, "Torch," and the Society of Slavic Cultures. The Russian section of the People's Front and "October Interfront" and the "Referendum" and "Russian Day" clubs have been invited; it will be an "open-door" day. And the OSTK [United Labor Collective Council], which was itself created to solve socioeconomic problems, has been invited as an equal partner.

This forum should be of a specific and constructive nature and it should be a question not of theoretical problems, but specific and tangible programs that could be drawn up to resolve social problems, and for a civic world.

And we hope that after intensive work we shall be able to adopt documents that embody our experience and formulate conditions for further work to form an equal civic partnership with the Estonian people in creating a unified civic society. This should be the foundation of real dialogue.

[Kekelidze] And a final question. Will there be a preliminary meeting of those taking part in the "Russian day" at the "forum" in order to reach some kind of intermediate agreement?

[Mikhaylov] Yes, we are inviting all those interested in debate, which is so important for our future, to a consultative meeting that will take place at 1930 on Wednesday 20 September in the drama theater on the premises of the Russian Club.

Estonian Parliament, Strike Body Issue Protocol

PM1310104189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Talks Ended"]

[Text] A meeting between representatives of a commission of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic strike committee council was held in Tallinn 15 September to sum up the results of talks which have been held. A joint

protocol, ratifying all previous protocols, was signed. Discussion of a number of questions which had not been sufficiently covered previously was continued. Positions on such questions as the primacy of the Estonian nation, the Law on Language, and a number of others were clarified. The sides recorded their viewpoints in the protocol.

The meeting was attended by comrades G. Aleshin, N. Ganyushov, E.A. Sillari; V. Veskivyali, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; A. Almann, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and M.Pedak, chairman of the Estonian SSR Trade Union Council.

The republic strike committee council was represented by A. Kopytin, A. Lykashov, Yu. Rudyak, V. Shurykin, V. Yarovoy, and A. Yakushev.

Tax Imposed on Increases in Cooperative Wage Funds

PM1210153789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Measures To Regulate the Growth of Funds Used for Labor Remuneration by Cooperatives in the Production and Service Spheres, by Lessees' Organizations, and by Enterprises of Other Public Organizations"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To lay down that in the 4th quarter of 1989 and in 1990 cooperatives in the production and service spheres, lessees' organizations, and enterprises of other public organizations (except public organizations of invalids, their establishments, and production training enterprises and associations) are to pay into the budget at their place of registration a tax on the increase in funds used for labor remuneration. The tax is to be levied on any increase in funds used for labor remuneration in excess of 3 percent, according to the scale laid down in the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 3 August 1989 "On Taxation of the Labor Remuneration Fund of State Enterprises (Associations)."

2. For cooperatives in the production and service spheres the increase in the funds used for labor remuneration is determined in relation to the funds spent on these purposes in the corresponding quarter last year, adjusted to take into account the actual number of cooperative members in the current quarter. The calculation is made on the basis of the average monthly labor remuneration per worker in the corresponding period last year.

If the cooperative has ensured volumes of production (work, services) no lower than the level reached in the corresponding quarter last year while simultaneously reducing the number of personnel, then in this case the increase in the funds used for labor remuneration in the current period is determined in relation to the funds spent on these purposes in the corresponding period last year.

For newly set up cooperatives the increase in funds used for labor remuneration is based on the average monthly labor remuneration per worker for last year in cooperatives of a similar kind located on the territory in question (union republic not divided into oblasts, autonomous republic, kray, oblast, rayon, or city) as calculated by financial organs, and on the actual number of cooperative workers in the current period.

With the aim of providing incentives for an increase in consumer goods production and in the volume of sales of services to the population, it is laid down that, by decision of the local soviets, the aforesaid taxation procedure may not be applied to any increase in funds used for labor remuneration which stems from increased production and sale of these goods and services.

The USSR Council of Ministers is to ratify the procedure and conditions of granting cooperatives other tax benefits.

3. For lessees' organizations the increase in labor remuneration funds is to be taxed in the manner laid down for state enterprises. Newly set up lessees' organizations are to calculate the increase in labor remuneration funds in relation to the funds used for labor remuneration by the enterprise or the components of the enterprise on the basis of which the lessees' organizations were created.

4. For enterprises of public organizations the increase in labor remuneration funds is to be taxed according to the procedure laid down for state enterprises.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 September 1989.

Article Argues for Need of Private Ownership

PM1310130189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by USSR People's Deputy Professor A. Denisov under the rubric "Deputy's Position": "Private Ownership Under Socialism?"]

[Text] Leningrad—For decades just one view of ownership—the official view—was asserted in our country and any other opinions were stopped, including by the harshest measures. But the dialectic of life cannot be halted and the correctness of a particular idea is asserted only thanks to a comparative analysis. Perhaps not everyone will agree with the viewpoint expressed in this article. But, as is well known, the truth is borne in argument.

Recently the contradiction has been appearing increasingly clearly between our official adherence to public ownership and the practice of the broad enlistment of foreign private capital to the creation of joint ventures in the USSR, whose number has come close to 1,000. In addition the obvious inevitability of the transition to a multiform economy keenly raises the question of

whether the concept of multiformity also includes private ownership or whether the rejection of private ownership proclaimed by K. Marx is an insuperable obstacle on the path of its inclusion in the economy of socialism. To answer this question it is necessary to follow K. Marx and use the reliable dialectical method of studying the problem, tracing the course of his thought and extrapolating it to our own reality.

Let's begin with the fact that at the time K. Marx was working on DAS KAPITAL society knew virtually no other form of ownership in the public production sphere other than private ownership. That is why all the hardships of the working people's exploitation were ascribed exclusively to this form of ownership.

Indeed, in revealing through the dialectical method the source of the self propulsion of contemporary capitalism, K. Marx rightly identified it with the struggle between labor and capital as the result of the basic opposites in this social system. He then aptly formulated the thrust of this struggle as the private owner's exploitation of the labor of hired workers in the form of the excessive removal of the surplus product they produced for his own benefit. Here it is important to stress that by exploitation we should understand **precisely and only the excessive removal of the surplus product because without its moderate, fair removal it is simply impossible for any society to exist.** Indeed, is it not fair to compensate the expenses of the owner of the means of production on their depreciation and servicing, on the leasing of land for an enterprise, to compensate him for his own labor in managing, providing raw material, selling finished output, and so forth, that is for everything which is spared the hired worker but which is a necessary condition of his productive activity? Marx himself evidently understood this perfectly because he did not include among exploiters the owners of enterprises employing fewer than eight workers.

The problem thus came down to ascertaining the reasons for the excessive exploitation of labor which at that time took very severe forms. It is perfectly obvious that the fundamental reason for this was monopolism, the domination of private ownership, which deprived the hired worker of the right to choose his working conditions. In these circumstances the capitalists' class solidarity, even despite the commercial competition between them, allows them to dictate extortionate conditions of work to the hired worker without fearing that he will leave, especially as the high economic effectiveness of private ownership makes it possible to keep a reserve army of unemployed. It is precisely the lack of choice for the worker which constitutes the social injustice of the monopolism of private ownership. After all, even slavery would not be so harsh if the slave could choose between state and private slavery, and the latter had to compete in the struggle for him. And serfdom was a form acceptable to the peasant and suitable for its time as long as Saint George's Day [day when serfs had the right to move to another landowner] existed.

The indisputable and obvious nature of this position spared K. Marx the need to dwell in particular on the details, especially as the struggle against the monopolism of private ownership under the conditions of the absence of other forms of ownership was tantamount to a struggle against private ownership itself. But Marx obviously overestimated the perspicacity of his followers who contrived not only to supplant the struggle against the monopolism of private ownership with the struggle against this ownership itself but also, counter to dialectics, managed to absolutize the element of struggle between labor and capital to the detriment of the element of their unity in the production process. This led them to the absolute denial—intolerable within the framework of dialectics—of one of the struggling opposites (private ownership), which is tantamount to depriving the system of the impulse of self propulsion and development, because dialectics sees the source of movement only in the struggle of opposites. The failed attempt to implement this doctrine in the form of postrevolutionary war communism swiftly returned V.I. Lenin to the bosom of dialectics and to a rejection of the absolute denial of private ownership in the practice of the new economic policy. Unfortunately this brave step of his was not understood and was not assessed by V.I. Lenin's successors as a return in principle to dialectics but was interpreted as an unprincipled tactical maneuver.

Indeed a fool differs from a wise man not in that he makes mistakes (because they are inevitable in any matter) but in that he persists in making them. That is why all our further practice has come down to attempts to revive in various forms the stereotypes of war communism, which inevitable had to lead and in fact did lead to economic stagnation, inertia, and the degeneration of all social structures and functions.

The immediate reason for this situation was, as in K. Marx' time, **monopolism, only no longer of private ownership but of public ownership,** which enabled the administrative and management apparatus to dictate its conditions to the working people by depriving them of the right to choose, in exactly the same way as happened during the monopolism of private ownership. Here what was essentially the exploitation of the working people again flourished through the excessive removal of the surplus product they produced allegedly for public, that is universally accessible, funds, the distributor of which was, once again, the administrative apparatus, which thus obtained virtually unrestricted right of access to them and which squandered them as it saw fit, primarily, of course, in its own favor.

Is that not what is borne out by the special distributors which proliferated, the closed preventive and treatment establishments, the caste and personal privileges, and so forth? After all, that is all exploitation which, however, is in no way linked with private ownership but is the natural result of the monopolism of one form of ownership, in this case public ownership.

That is why the only path toward real social justice and a truly socialist policy is the establishment of the pluralism of forms of ownership, a multiform economy without any restrictions, an economy guaranteeing working people the freedom to choose where they apply their efforts and abilities—from relatively highly paid private enterprises with a bigger degree of social risk to the less profitable state sector with a high level of social guarantees, through the entire range of intermediate transitional and mixed forms of ownership. Only under these conditions can each working person in accordance with his abilities and inclinations be free to select the type of employment—from mindless execution to independent entrepreneurship—which will inevitably force competing forms of ownership in the struggle for the worker to reduce the profit norm to objectively necessary dimensions, that is will lead to the disappearance of any exploitation.

In addition the socialist state acquires the opportunity for broad maneuvering in pursuing a centralized planned policy of social justice, now encouraging the private sector in order to saturate the market with goods and services, now encouraging the state sector, which is semiphilanthropic under these conditions, to swallow up surplus manpower or to provide amenities for invalids, the elderly, and law violators at special enterprises. Here small-scale private ownership is the most effective in the services sphere and the production of consumer goods and science-intensive output while the state sector is more effective in heavy industry, and transport and space systems, which does not rule out their joint and transitional forms of participation in all spheres.

So far there is a serious obstacle on the path of radical perestroyka in this direction in the form of ossified dogmas, doctrinairism, and dogmatism which are inclined to transfer to our time everything which the classic Marxist writers said about their time and conditions. Including those inviolable dogmas and K. Marx' misinterpreted negativism with regard to private ownership, which by rights should apply not to private ownership itself but only to its monopolism.

Nonetheless at every step we are encountering oaths of loyalty exclusively to public ownership, as though incantations could be used to replace natural economic laws according to which man's exploitation of man inevitably attends **the monopolism of any form of ownership dominating in the social production sphere.**

The explanation of this irrational world outlook lies in the total bureaucratization of our thinking, when content has been replaced by form and the end by the means of achieving it. Bureaucracy as a methodology is inherent by no means only in officialdom, as is customarily thought, but in all strata of society from the worker and peasant performing production operations in a merely formal way without the slightest interest in the result of their activity to the ideological workers who have forgotten that particular doctrines which have become the subject of a kind of cult are not ends in themselves but were at one time geared toward man's welfare and should be discarded if they fail to fulfill that function.

Thus ideas about socialism and capitalism exist not for praising or cursing but as working models for the transformation of society in the direction of social justice. It is therefore sensible to interpret capitalism as the monopoly power of capital and socialism as public self management under the conditions of pluralism of competing forms of ownership which ensures the socially fair, free choice by each member of society of the forms of his labor according to his ability.

Then even the ideological bureaucrat's so customary division of ownership within the framework of dogmatic primitivism into "socialist" and "nonsocialist" loses any meaning since in face everything which works for the socialist ideal, that is for social justice, is socialist, and everything which fails to accord with this ideal (including the monopolism of state ownership) cannot be socialist.

Workers' Pressure Group Explains Aims

PM0210142389 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Members of the Moscow United Front of USSR Working People V. Vasilyev, worker at the S. Ordzhonikidze plant, and V. Stradymov, teacher at the All-Union Foreign Trade Academy, by L. Semina, teacher at the Moscow Higher Party School, under the "Standpoint" rubric: "All Power to Working People"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date, place of interview not specified]

[Text] A new informal sociopolitical formation—the Moscow organization of the United Front of USSR Working People [OFT]—has appeared in Moscow. Its aim is to endeavor to ensure that the vital interests of the working class, the working peasantry, and the intelligentsia are implemented consistently in party policy, above all, party economic policy. A natural question arises: Doesn't the OFT duplicate the tasks and aims of the CPSU, why has it chosen the form of an informal association, and does it make any fundamentally new proposals or does its program express disagreement with the party's activity at present? In our view, the OFT platform and program are not totally incontrovertible, but this organization, too, has the right to its own standpoint. Publishing this standpoint, the editorial office invites readers to voice their opinion on it.

Thus members of the Moscow OFT Coordinating Council V. Vasilyev, workers at the S. Ordzhonikidze plant, and V. Stradymov, teacher at the All-Union Foreign Trade Academy, talk about their organization.

Question: What brought about the creation of the OFT? Dissatisfaction with CPSU policy? Or, on the contrary, a desire to support it "from correct standpoints"?

Answer: Many communists and nonparty people are worried today by the situation within the party, which we would even describe as being at crisis point. In our view, party leadership of social development has drastically weakened and the most important decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress aimed at improving the people's life are not being fulfilled. The forces of the "black" economy, the corrupt bureaucracy, organized crime, and informal antisocialist associations overtly aspire to ideological and political supremacy in the country. Things have reached the point where a number of these formations have begun to infiltrate official party structures in order to exploit them for their own ends and change the CPSU's social and class nature.

We believe that antisocialist forces pin particular hopes on foisting their own standpoint on the party in the course of intraparty debate, discrediting Marxism-Leninism by means of demagoguery and falsehoods, and influencing the elections of delegates to party conferences and the 28th CPSU Congress.

The OFT supports healthy communist forces within the party. At the same time the CPSU is itself extremely heterogeneous today: Its members have, figuratively speaking, party membership cards of varying hues. It is not only a question of people like yesterday's heroes of the "cotton case" but also of people who are pushing our country onto a pernicious path today, taking refuge in the fact that they bear the title Communist. What do we have in mind? The praise of private ownership and imprecations against planning, the demands to denationalize the land and disband collective farms, the charges leveled against Lenin of creating an "administrative system" which allegedly resulted in the civil war and Stalinism, the nationalist speeches and the calls "not to pray to socialism like an icon," "to lose our ideological virginity," and to eliminate the Lenin Mausoleum voiced in some newspapers and journals, on television, and from lofty rostrums all illustrate that we are not traveling the same road as some party members.

We do not consider to be Communists those members of the CPSU who have lost touch with the working masses, cut themselves off from them by various privileges and benefits, become bureaucratic, pander to nationalist movements or align themselves with them, propagandize bourgeois values, or seek assistance from antiparty elements. It is urgently necessary to cleanse the party of such mere "party card holders" and truly revive the CPSU as the party of the working class.

It is of course no coincidence that the OFT is an informal association. First, it is not a regulation party cell but a spontaneous movement formed by working people themselves to defend the party—the party, their political vanguard—irrespective of whether they have a party card in their pocket. Second, favoring perestroyka in accordance with communist guidelines, the OFT demands that party policy be more clearly directed toward the interests of the working people than the policy proposed today, for instance, by the CPSU Central Committee.

Question: What is the nature of your platform and program under present conditions?

Answer: It is obvious—and this was confirmed by speeches at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—working people's life has become worse rather than better during the 4 years of perestroyka and this provokes their just discontent. Pseudo-cooperative members and people with excessively high incomes are becoming even richer by reviving the exploitation of wage labor and manipulating the proliferation of models of economic accountability. At the same time more than 40 million Soviet people live below the poverty line and encounter empty shelves in stores, ration cards, price rises, inflation, and speculation every day. How can we combat this?

The OFT advocates planned economic management in the interests and under the control of the people, opposes "market socialism" with its inherent price rises, unemployment, and stratification of society into the rich and the poor, and advocates the kind of economic perestroyka which will ensure enterprises' material interest in steadily reducing retail prices and increasing working people's spare time, the elimination of all channels of unearned income and opportunities for some people to live by exploiting the labor of others, the rigorous observance of the principle of "to each according to his labor," and at the same time the supreme efficiency of social production. We believe that we must combat the transformation of the USSR into a raw material appendage of other states and the rapacious exploitation of its natural and manpower resources, we must strengthen labor discipline and eradicate irresponsibility and slovenliness (remember the disasters of the last few years). Our other aims include socialist, that is, labor, democracy and glasnost; complete and effective employment (we are opposed to unemployment, including "at work"); the creation of conditions to ensure the blossoming of people's creative initiative and enterprise and their civic activeness; the improvement of the environmental situation; a free skilled health service, including provision of medicines; monetary reform without infringing on working people's interests; social justice in the distribution of life's benefits; abolition of undeserved privileges, the resolution of the housing problem, organization of worker supervision of housing allocation, and an increase in vacation time; and the top-priority development of public transport.

Question: These are nonetheless mainly economic questions. What is your political program?

Answer: It can briefly be outlined as follows: "All power to working people!"

Question: Isn't that too abstract? How can we distinguish this demand from the program adopted by the CPSU, which today is endeavoring to actually hand power over to the soviets?

Answer: The point is who precisely will be a member of these soviets and who will control our future life there. Under the current electoral system, which is based on the territorial principle, people who are often strangers to the voters or simply outsiders are members of the soviets. That is understandable: We nominate some candidates at our enterprise or organization, but we vote for others in our place of residence. Previously we used to passively and "unanimously" elect those people who were proposed from above but this spring we often voted for those people who simply shouted louder than the others about shortcomings and made promises which were as impracticable as they were lavish. As a result representatives of the working class and the working peasantry found themselves in the minority at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

But that is not the only point. There is no organic link between labor collectives and the soviets. The latter were hitherto enterprises' "poor relations," asking them for aid in resolving pressing problems in the rayon, city, or oblast. Aid which has become even weaker with enterprises' switch to complete economic accountability.

In the impending elections to the local soviets the OFT proposes reverting to the Leninist principle of holding these elections above all at labor collectives. Vladimir Ilich believed that "the Soviet Constitution also closes the gap between the state apparatus and the masses in that it is the production unit rather than the territorial okrug that is the electoral unit and the fundamental cell in the state..." That was the case until 1936, when "Stalin's" constitution restored voting by territory, since Soviet power organized in the Leninist style, open and subordinate to the ordinary worker, was not susceptible to orchestration from above. That is why the bourgeois principle of territorial voting by a disconnected mass of inhabitants was reinstated. This suited Stalin better since it enabled his "strong hand" to "queen" any pawn he liked.

Strange as it may seem, it is this point of our program that provoked frenzied opposition from the "democrats" in the "people's fronts," who dubbed it an "apparatus" scheme forced through via the OFT: It was said that the production principle for elections guarantees the apparatus victory in the local soviets. How contemptuous an attitude toward ordinary working people is displayed by the upholders of such views! They still depict them as a gray mass that can be manipulated by anyone who wants to. Despite the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, where workers from Zaporozhye, Ivanov, Kharkov, and Leningrad were virtually the only people to trenchantly raise the question of price rises, distortions in the cooperative movement, the stratification of society into rich and poor, and the need to rapidly improve the people's life. Despite the strikes, where the miners ensured exemplary order in the region, sealing off liquor stores and bringing pressure to bear on moonshiners, as befits workers. Would these workers vote obediently for apparatchiks with no authority? It is the disunited inhabitants of residential districts who indeed could and can do that.

Question: But the inhabitants of residential districts must also have their own representatives in the soviets. How will they take part in the elections under your system? What about workers in small collectives: What will they do—amalgamate with large collectives? Then, for instance, there may not be a single hairdresser deputy....

Answer: That can easily be settled: Say, half the deputies are elected by labor collectives from enterprises, organizations, and establishments, including cooperatives (or by collectives from a group of small enterprises, like hairdressers) and the other half by residents. It would perhaps make sense to form two chambers at a local soviet: a rayon, city, or oblast labor collectives' soviet and a comparable soviet for the population of the electoral okrug.

We think that it is also time for alternative projects in the political sphere. As the leading ideological and political organization, the CPSU makes political decisions on the basis of ideas it has already elaborated. But the OFT or other informal organizations, as it were, prepare the ground for a party decision by proposing their own options. In general our emergence is the result of pluralism in public life. Groupings opposing socialism cropped up and made themselves felt at first. It is natural for groups which support and try to implement a consistent course of socialism building also to appear.

The emergence within the CPSU without clear isolation of differing, frequently mutually exclusive standpoints is a destructive and unpredictable process. That is why the network of informal associations "based on platforms" is a real means of revealing various views, giving them expression in programs, and organizing constant public debate. The party has a chance to establish an organic link with the masses and absorb their experience.

Question: What is the role of primary organizations at enterprises? What if all party members disperse and join informal associations...

Answer: It is each person's own personal affair whether they join informal associations or not. But it is a Communist's obligation and party duty to contribute to practical socialist building, notably at his specific workplace. One does not preclude the other. Primary party organizations may formulate their decisions amid a clash of opinions, approaches, and stances elaborated by every member of the CPSU in "his" association.

Of course, the current passion for "informals" among many Communists is linked with their dissatisfaction with the work of party organizations and party committees. It is possible that, as intraparty democracy becomes

more active, many informal associations will exhaust themselves. We must not be dogmatic.

Gagauz Autonomy Working Groups Hold Meeting

PM2509102589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Consultation Held"]

[Text] A consultation of heads of working groups of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission for Studying Questions From USSR People's Deputies and Other Appeals Pertaining to the Creation of an Autonomous Formation for the Gagauz People has been held. It was chaired by Commission Chairman V.S. Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The heads of the working groups, which are made up of members of the commission—Candidate of Historical Sciences S.S. Kuroglo, head of the Gagauz research section of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography and Art Criticism Department; S.S. Bulgar, writer and chairman of the executive committee of the Gagauz people's movement "Gagauz Khalky"; and Candidate of Economic Sciences K.P. Tavshamzhi, head of a section of the Moldavian Irrigation Research Institute; and also S.V. Grozdev, USSR people's deputy, first secretary of the Komratskiy party rayon committee, and deputy chairman of the said commission; A.L. Bulyanu, Moldavian SSR minister of finance; and I.P. Yurash, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Statistics—spoke about progress in studying existing forms of autonomy in the country and a possible form of autonomy for the Gagauz people, ethnohistorical and socioeconomic aspects of the southern rayons of the republic where the representatives of the Gagauz people live, and problems arising in devising a model of regional economic accountability and economic management for various forms of autonomy.

During the consultation the main spheres of the activities of the commission's working groups for the near future were defined.

Informal Groups, Militia Clash in Lvov

90UN0041A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by S. Ronamyuk (Lvov): "Provocation"]

The situation in Lvov has heated up again. As the autumn months changed the city residents were witnesses to two events whose meanings were polar opposites: the fourth republic festival of folk art is brought to the minds of residents and guests of the ancient Ukrainian city by the fireworks produced by talented national artists. During the same days there have been local rallies occasioned by the incident in Lvov's Hyde Park: Someone tore up the yellow and blue flag that has become traditional here and overturned the name plate marking the place where the monument to T.G. Shevchenko is to be erected. And although we have not yet managed to find the specific party guilty of this provocation, the informal groups, among which the Ukrainian Helsinki Union stands out, gave an ultimatum to the city authorities to find the guilty party. The investigation of this incident is continuing.

At the same time on the evening of 1 October a group of representatives of informal organizations blocked the building of the city internal affairs administration and demanded that a certain Tevtya, who was allegedly being detained there, be released. Those who had assembled were given the answer that nobody had arrested him. Nonetheless the agitated group of people decided to storm the building and began to push against the police line; there are casualties on both sides. As the oblast procurator L. Izosimiv reported, 15 citizens went for medical aid. One of them was hospitalized. Sixteen militia workers were wounded, three of whom are confined to their beds.

A group of investigators was created from Lvov and other oblasts and the investigation is proceeding at intensive rates.

Gorno-Altaysk Oblast Examines Status

LD1310114889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] A session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies in Gorno-Altaysk has examined the question of the legal status of this autonomous oblast. [passage omitted] Many people here, both Altays and Russians, regard the oblast's leaving the kray and being made directly subordinate to the RSFSR as an essential condition for independent growth. The oblast party committee and the oblast executive committee unequivocally came out in favor of this solution. This is, in practice, a new approach to the status of autonomous entities.

[Begin recording of unidentified man] Any tiny questions that must be solved... I mean, everything must be tackled through the kray. It is a redundant level in the management structure. Leaving the kray and belonging directly to the RSFSR does not, all in all, constitute a mistake. It is neither a political mistake nor a violation of the law. [sentence indistinct] [end recording]

Zaykov Addresses Seminar on Social Issues

PM1510174989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 p 1

[MOSTASS correspondent B. Shestakov report: "Jointly Seeking New Approaches. Seminar of the Capital's CPSU Rayon Committee First Secretaries"]

[Excerpts] Soviet people want perestroyka to take place and expect from party, soviet, and economic organs more constructive work which will bear fruit in the near

future. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum which ended a few days ago orient Communists toward skillfully combining the elaboration of long-term questions with the immediate solution of pressing problems which affect people's day-to-day life.

Valuable experience in the development of the social sphere and work with inhabitants at neighborhood units has been accumulated in recent years in Moscow's Kalininskiy Rayon. This is why it was chosen as the venue for the latest seminar of first secretaries of the capital's CPSU rayon committees [raykoms] held with a view to jointly interpreting the new sociopolitical situation and elaborating new approaches to the problems which arise. [passage omitted]

The seminar participants met 22 September at the Kalininskiy party raykom. The opening speech was delivered by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow party city committee [gorkom]. At the last seminar, held in Gagarinskiy Rayon, he said, we discussed the organization of ideological and leisure work with the population and the whole range of problems connected with the need to improve housing and municipal, medical, consumer, and trade services for Muscovites. At the time, we correctly geared our work to enhancing the social activeness of residents and expanding the rights of people's deputies.

Today we must above all evaluate the extent to which we have succeeded in implementing these decisions, jointly interpret the new situation, and elaborate our tactics for action.

A report was delivered by A.V. Rudakov, first secretary of the Kalininskiy CPSU Raykom. [passage omitted]

A critical and committed exchange of opinions took place in conclusion. L.N. Zaykov summed up the results of the seminar. The political transformations which are under way in the country, he emphasized, have brought about a new level of socialist democracy and social activeness. The new problems and phenomena which are arising are felt especially keenly in all their diversity in Moscow in the practical work of all party organizations. The range of the tasks facing the party gorkom, raykoms, and primary party organizations has become wider and more complex.

An open struggle for power is being waged in society by overtly antisocialist, antiperestroyka forces; they are waging this struggle against the party, juggling perestroyka's slogans and distorting its aims. Their desire to eliminate the CPSU and to split it into individual republican parties with their own statutes and programs, linked neither by common ideas and goals nor by a common organizational structure, is becoming ever more obvious. People seeking to divide the union into national compartments have not given up their efforts either.

These are now the main components in the political struggle which is under way. A certain amount of time is needed to ponder the CPSU Central Committee plenum materials; however, the main thrust of the line elaborated at this plenum is clear—perestroyka, the country as a whole, each republic individually, and the party all need unity today. It is very important to ensure that all party committees and organizations not only themselves absorb the ideas and decisions of the plenum, but also propagandize them actively among nonparty people and wide circles of the population. The crux of our organizational and political activities today must be the preparations for the elections to local soviets. The whole spectrum of the problems of work among the population is focused in party organizations. One of the main problems is the establishment and development of residents' self-management organs. Action groups have organized a debate on the "Model Statute on Social Self-Management" issued by the Moscow City Soviet. A unique draft law is in preparation on Moscow's status as the capital and it will serve as the basis for the solution of many of the city's problems. Self-management committees and action groups have raised the question of their being invested with real authority and being able to register as social organizations with a wide range of powers. A common stance must be elaborated on this point.

We are devoting increasing attention to social development issues. In a number of rayons their solution has been tackled. However, we must note the fact that the sociopolitical situation in the city has grown considerably more complex. One of the reasons for this is the lack of consistency in our work to expand the powers of the soviets. This is the weakest link so far. What we need are soviets which carry a lot of authority and enjoy the voters' trust. They must act as guarantors in the implementation of the party's policy aimed at improving the economic situation and the spiritual and moral atmosphere.

In short, the agenda of our seminar contained wide-ranging questions. It is pleasing that constructive and useful proposals were put forward here.

Today, L.N. Zaykov noted, we have acquainted ourselves with the organization of work with the population in Kalininskiy Rayon. I believe that this experience will be of benefit for work in all the city's rayons. We have seen interesting approaches here to work with the population in the center of the city and on its outskirts, in the industrial zone and on large housing projects. I hope that these valuable grains of experience and also the many initiatives launched in other rayons will become our common asset, providing the basis for important positive changes in Muscovites' life.

The seminar was attended by Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretaries N.M. Andreyanova, V.K. Belyakinov, Yu.S. Karabasov, and V.I. Kuznetsov.

Fergana 'Excesses' Trial Enters Third Week

PM1110120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 7

[TASS correspondent L. Levin report: "At the Court Trial in Fergana"]

[Text] Fergana, 6 Oct—The open court trial of 12 active participants in the excesses which occurred in Fergana Oblast at the beginning of June is continuing for a 3d week in the "Khimik" Palace of Culture. They are accused of involvement in the murder of four Meskhetian Turks, robbery, and malicious hooliganism. Two—T. Parpiyev and G. Zhurayev—are also accused of rape.

After completing the interrogation of the accused, the court collegium for criminal cases of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court under the chairmanship of U. Mingbayev has begun the examination of witnesses. In all, the evidence of approximately 40 witnesses has to be heard.

More than 200 citizens are now under investigation with regard to cases of murder, theft, and other crimes that occurred in Fergana Oblast.

Kazakh Writer's Complaint Rebutted

PM1210140189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Ladin report: "Language Debate and the Language of Debate. On an Article in the Newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—On 10 September the republic newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN published a long article by the writer K. Mukhamedzhanov entitled "Let's Face Facts, Elder Brother." It raised issues that are currently of wide-ranging public interest—specifically, interethnic relations. I do not plan to assess the item as a whole, but, since the esteemed writer reproaches KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, certain points should nonetheless be elucidated.

For instance, the writer attempts to refute the arguments advanced by his fellow-countryman Academician S. Kenesbayev of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences in his letter "Thinking about Unity" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 22 August). What was it that so "disturbed" Comrade Mukhamedzhanov? Judging by his article, a great deal. For instance, he attempts to catch the academician out by inquiring why he is suddenly asking the military for a hand. You are not a marshal, or a general, and you have never even been a soldier, he writes. Later he adds the following phrase: You are probably thirsting for blood. Is that why you are calling on the Army for help?

Judging by these arguments, an unsophisticated reader of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN might rightly accuse our writer of extremist appeals or, moreover, of betraying "the Kazakh people's interests." What is actually the case?

If we read the letter "Thinking About Unity" in an unbiased way, we find that it contains nothing of the sort. It merely notes that we should think about the fate of the Russian language along with the future expansion of the social and cultural functions of the languages of the republics' indigenous nationalities and the granting to them of the status of state languages. And it should be bluntly stated, the academician concludes, that anyone trying to gradually restrict the sphere of that language's application is hampering the cohesion of our union.

Whether he agrees with this position or not is a matter for the writer himself. But, incidentally, S. Kenesbayev's letter met with broad public support—the editorial office received many positive reactions. As the academician had supposed, the question of concern to him was raised at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations and was even reinforced in the platform adopted by the plenum "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present-Day Conditions."

Needless to say, people have been reacting to these arguments in different ways. This is an entirely normal phenomenon given today's range of political forces in society. There have also been contrary arguments on the problems of developing national cultures and languages. But, nonetheless, this specific case should be separated from the problem of pluralism as a whole. Until recently the same Comrade Mukhamedzhanov had no doubts about whether a Kazakh writer or scholar could be published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. After all, he himself had published an article in our newspaper on...friendship among the peoples. Indeed, the letter "Thinking About Unity" was devoted to this subject. So, clearly, it is not just a question of the place in which the article appeared.

Quite simply, there used to be old cliches, and now new cliches are being introduced: Everything associated with the Army is bad... Nor did the author of "Let's Face Facts, Elder Brother" avoid stereotypes. Incidentally, we are not offended that he himself now only occasionally (his words) reads our newspaper. Although one wants to object when the writer states that, except among the military, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is rarely seen; consequently, you see, its opponent needn't have bothered contacting the Defense Ministry central organ.

As for our readership, most of them are civilians. Let's suppose that Comrade Mukhamedzhanov doesn't know this. Only it is hard to understand why he, a well-known person in the republic and formerly secretary of the Kazakh SSR Writers Union Board, had chosen merely the methods of pressure and insult by way of argument.

You will agree that any attempts to dictate to others or to display impatience with others' opinions are reminiscent of the psychology of the stagnation period. Even if these attempts are accompanied by flatteringly deferential

references, as the writer does when calling the academician elder brother and himself the younger brother. He wants to affirm "good" relations in the family, there are no two ways about it... He is right about just one thing: Indeed, Academician Kenesbayev has never worn a soldier's uniform, and did not fight at the front owing to a severe form of tuberculosis. But his life cannot be called easy. He was repressed in the early fifties and exiled.

Furthermore, in December 1945 Kenesbayev was awarded the Order of the Red Star. For what? This is a special subject in itself. The writer should just meet with our author and discuss everything rather than collecting compromising material based on rumor and fabrication against one of the most respected Kazakh language scholars.

We ought to be conducting a genuine debate on language. And for the time being nothing is stopping us discussing the language of the debate too. Unfortunately, the article "Let's Face Facts, Elder Brother" allows for no other interpretation.

New Party Secretary Usmanov on Hopes, Regrets

PM0210153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by own correspondent N. Morozov: "Elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Our Interviewee Is G.I. Usmanov"—date, place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Kazan—G.I. Usmanov gave this interview to this PRAVDA correspondent immediately after the Tatar Oblast party committee released him from his duties as first secretary and warmly congratulated him on his election as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Morozov] Accept our cordial congratulations, too, Gumer Ismagilovich! Did you expect such a development in your career?

[Usmanov] When I heard my name at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum I started looking around—I thought they were talking about someone with the same name. No, there was no "double." I tried to express some doubts about the correctness of the choice and my ability, but I was elected.

[Morozov] Could you tell our readers a little about yourself, please?

[Usmanov] I'm 57 and a Tatar by nationality. I was born in Chistopol, and started my working career there after graduating from the agricultural mechanization technical college. I taught at a school and lectured at the technical college and the party city committee [gorkom]. At the age of 28 I was elected a secretary of Chistopol CPSU Gorkom, and at 30 I became first secretary. Then I had to leave my home town: I was made chief of the Naberezhnyye Chelny Collective Farm and State Farm Production Administration and first secretary of Buinskiy Rayon party committee... Actually, this is not the first sharp change in my biography: In 1966, just as unexpectedly as now, I became chairman of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. I worked in that post for 16 years. I've headed the party's oblast committee for the past 7 years. And yet I'm a mechanical engineer by training...

[Morozov] You will now have to live and work in Moscow. Clearly, it won't be easy for you to leave your home area.

[Usmanov] Absolutely. I've been through so much here in Tartaria. The Kama Truck Plant alone is worth something. It wasn't easy to build such a giant in just 5 years. The production line was built on enthusiasm and validol [presumably a tranquilizer]. And what about the Nizhnekamsk Chemical Complex? The Naberezhnyye Chelny Power Station... The "Orgsintez" plant in Kazan... These huge and difficult tasks have been close to my heart during my working years: How can I forget them? As for my personal plans in connection with my leaving Tartaria, they add to my sorrow. My son, my daughter, and my beloved grandchildren Marat and Ayrat will stay in Kazan. I cannot imagine suddenly not being able to hug them tomorrow and the day after. They're so good to relax with....

[Morozov] We can understand your mood, Gumer Ismagilovich. But what is the socioeconomic "mood" of the republic you are leaving after being in charge for so many years?

[Usmanov] Well, I can't say I'm leaving it in an enviable state of prosperity. There are many problems, just as there are all over our common home. But there is very great potential in the autonomous republic. Take the most urgent task of the day—housing. Each year our construction workers produce more than 2 million square meters, a base is now being created at an accelerated rate for yet another million, and there is every possibility of fulfilling the state program for providing people with individual apartments, not by the year 2000 but a year or two earlier. We have managed to stanch the population outflow from the countryside. Things here are steadily improving. For instance, Tartaria has reached the level of 3,300 kg per cow in terms of milk yields.

[Morozov] Which aspects of your accumulated experience of party work will "suit" the fulfillment of your duties as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and which aspects will have to be abandoned?

[Usmanov] I do not intend to change my character, convictions, or style of work. Don't take that as conservatism. Because I'm moving to a new job with an unswerving desire to get closer to life and people, to absorb their wisdom, to support people who may be "awkward" but are inquisitive and searching personalities with their own opinions, and to create around me an atmosphere of initiative and creativity. I'm not about to

forecast whether this will be successful or not, but in Tartaria at least we managed to form a very interesting corps of party leaders aged between 30 and 40 who could boldly be appointed the leaders of tomorrow. They might say about me that I was tough and demanding toward cadres, but I never insulted or belittled anyone. The only thing I will have to give up in my new job is probably the sense of where I come from, insofar as it goes beyond the framework of personal sympathies.

[Morozov] One last question, Gumer Ismagilovich. What do you consider to be the main aim of a Central Committee secretary's activity?

[Usmanov] To be as useful to the people as possible. To justify through my experience and spiritual energy the trust of all those who have placed their faith in my abilities.

Top Justice Bodies Hold Joint Session

PM0210141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A joint session of a plenum of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Ministry of Justice Collegium recently was held to discuss reports by USSR Supreme Court Chairman Ye.A. Smolentsev and USSR Justice Minister V.F. Yakovlev on the tasks of courts and organs of justice stemming from the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session.

The reports and the speeches voiced serious concern at the continuing growth of crime in the USSR since 1988, particularly its organized forms.

In the first half of 1989, 1,103,000 crimes were recorded—32 percent more than during the corresponding period last year; at the same time, the number of serious crimes increased 40 percent.

More than half the crimes—57 percent—were committed for mercenary motives or on the grounds of consumption of alcohol or drugs.

Against the background of growth in crime, the continuing decline in convictions is perceived as attesting to a relaxation of the fight against crime. In 1988, convictions were 25 percent lower than in 1987 and they fell a further 7.6 percent in the first half of this year.

The drop in the number of criminal cases reaching the courts is accounted for by the worsening indicators for clearing up crimes and the increase in the number of cases dismissed by preliminary investigation organs on grounds not implying rehabilitation [po nereabilitiruyushchim osnovaniyam]: In 1988, approximately one-fourth of the crimes committed were not cleared up and more than one-third (37 percent) of the persons whose guilt the investigation organs considered established were released by them from criminal liability and the cases were dismissed. All this has an adverse effect on the fight against crime because a considerable number of the persons who commit crimes are made to feel confident that their deeds will go unpunished.

The plenum pointed out that, in the main, the practice of courts' prescribing measures of punishment accords with the requirements of the existing law. As a rule, severe punishments are prescribed for persons committing serious crimes who have been convicted previously and who stubbornly refuse to join in honest working life, whereas measures not involving loss of liberty are applied to those convicted of less dangerous crimes committed for the first time. In a number of cases, however, when resolving this very important question, certain courts deviate from the law's requirements regarding the strict individualization of punishment, showing indulgence toward dangerous criminals, particularly toward inveterate hooligans and persons guilty of offenses against socialist and private property.

At the same time, there are cases where courts apply loss of liberty without adequate grounds with regard to persons who for the first time have committed crimes that do not represent a great public danger and who are capable of correction without being isolated from society.

The plenum drew the courts' attention to the fact that under the conditions of the unfavorable situation occasioned by the considerable growth of crime they are obliged by means of precise application of the law to ensure the reliable protection of the rights and law-protected interests of citizens and state, public, and cooperative organizations.

The USSR Supreme Court plenum then discussed a number of specific questions of court practice.

The question of the courts' use of legislation on responsibility for offenses against the life, health, and dignity of militia workers, voluntary people's militiamen, and also servicemen in connection with the fulfillment of their duties of protecting public order was examined following a report by Supreme Court member A.M. Brizitskiy.

The plenum emphasized the need to improve court activity with regard to cases in this category, so that it helps in every possible way to increase the legal protection of militia workers and other persons involved in the fight against crime and to foster in citizens a sense of responsibility for the strict observance of Soviet laws and implacability toward violations of public order.

The courts' attention was drawn to the inadmissibility of indulgence toward inveterate violators of public order, recidivists, organizers of and participants in group criminal actions, and also persons who have committed crimes involving weapons or under conditions of mass disturbances or a public disaster.

It was explained that the actions of militia workers, people's voluntary militiamen, and servicemen which

take the form of causing harm to an offender while fulfilling their duties of protecting public order in accordance with the normative acts governing the grounds and procedure for using force, special means, or weapons are lawful and do not entail liability. But the offenders, in accordance with the law, are liable despite being harmed.

Militia workers (including cadets at secondary and higher militia schools), people's voluntary militiamen, and servicemen must be deemed to have fulfilled their duties of protecting public order when performing post and patrol service in maintaining order during demonstrations, rallies, spectacles, sports competitions, and other mass measures, in eliminating the consequences of accidents and public and natural disasters, and also in cases of preventing or stopping illegal offenses.

Liability for resisting the said persons and also for offenses against their life, health, or dignity extends not only to those citizens to whom the militia worker, people's voluntary militiaman, or serviceman directly addressed a legitimate demand but also to other persons actively opposing measures aimed at stopping illegal actions and arresting and escorting violators of public order. Such liability follows regardless of whether the militia worker, people's voluntary militiaman, or serviceman was on duty, was at a post, or was a member of a detail or whether he took measures on his own initiative or at the request of citizens to prevent violations of public order, to stop a crime, and to arrest a criminal.

Mindful of the fact that some internal affairs organ workers (Internal Affairs Ministry school cadets, militarized fire protection personnel, and others) involved in protecting public order enjoy less legal protection than militia workers, the plenum made a representation to the USSR Supreme Soviet by way of a legislative initiative to make corresponding changes to the legislation.

In this connection, the plenum drew the courts' attention to their obligation to expose the causes of homicides and to take measures to eliminate them. In cases of these crimes committed on domestic grounds, in particular, it is necessary to react in a principled way to such facts as drunkenness, an immoral way of life, and the incorrect behavior of the defendant and also the victim, the passiveness of labor collectives and public organizations in carrying out educational work and settling domestic conflicts, the failure to punish offenses committed earlier, and the inaction of militia organs on receiving reports of threats to commit murder or reports of the illegal production and keeping of weapons.

The plenum pointed out in its adopted resolution that the situation with regard to crime and convictions among minors in Moldavia remains complex. The number of convicted teenagers increased 5.7 percent in 1988 compared with the previous year. The proportion of minors in the overall number of all people convicted is constantly increasing. They most frequently commit crimes against private property, thefts of state and public property, hooliganism, and rape.

In not all necessary cases do Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] courts involve in court sessions representatives of the labor collectives or teaching and educational establishments in which a minor worked or studied, representatives of the commissions and inspectorates for affairs of minors, or representatives of public organizations at the place of work of the defendant's parents, guardian, or foster parent. When applying a reprieve, people's courts sometimes do not impose on convicted persons the obligations provided for in law, fail to explain to them and their legal representatives the essence of the sentence, and do not always send copies of it in good time to the minors affairs commissions and inspectorates or to labor collectives and public organizations, which leads to lack of control over the behavior of convicted teenagers and sometimes to the commission of new offenses by them.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Court is recommended to step up supervision of the republic courts' correct application of the legislation relating to cases of crimes by minors and of their fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Court plenum resolution on this question, to react in good time to every instance of a violation of the law, and to take measures for the unconditional elimination of mistakes made by courts.

It was explained that the category, cause, and time of onset of victims' disability are established in all cases by expert medical disability commissions. The degree of loss of fitness for a trade (in percentages) and the need for additional forms of compensation are determined by expert medical disability commissions if harm was caused in connection with the victim's fulfillment of labor duties either on or outside the territory of an enterprise, establishment, or organization, as well as during travel to and from the place of work on transport provided by the enterprise, establishment, or organization with which the victim has a labor relationship; by an expert court medical body in all other cases.

The plenum also examined protests by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR general prosecutor relating to court cases. They include the cases of 139 people subjected to unfounded oppression during the thirties, forties, and early fifties. All these cases were dismissed and the persons convicted in them fully rehabilitated.

USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev participated in the plenum's work.

News Briefing on Crime Rates Held in Moscow

LD1110112289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct (TASS)—In the first 9 months of this year, the internal affairs organs and the USSR Procuracy registered over 1.75 million crimes, that is,

33.3 percent more than in the same period last year. Particular alarm is caused by the continual increase in serious crimes—they have increased by 42.4 percent, crimes against property by 54.1 percent. Street crime has increased by 77.1 percent. This data was cited at a briefing held today in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was particularly stressed at the briefing that the organs for struggle against the theft of socialist property are conducting an intensive struggle against crime in the economic sphere. In the first 9 months of 1989 they uncovered over 200,000 such crimes. Almost R20 million worth of objects of profiteering and valuables obtained by illegal means were confiscated. As a result, in the above-mentioned period of 1989, crime in the economic sphere as a whole decreased by 2.6 percent compared with the same period of last year. However, the fact that the number of major thefts increased by 2.3 percent continues to cause alarm.

The position over drugs is rather complicated. Those engaged in this "business" move around the country and this is where the main difficulty lies in combatting them. In spite of this, in August alone 97 people were brought to book for illegal manufacture, acquisition, storage, and transportation of narcotics. According to data from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs there was an increase of 46.5 percent in the number of thefts of weapons and munitions. The acute nature of this problem is shown by the fact that 647 Kalashnikov machine guns and 1,998 Makarov pistols were currently sought.

There is trouble on the streets and squares and in the parks. The rate of street crime is increasing particularly in Estonia, Lithuania, and the Mari and Tatar autonomous soviet republics, and in Leningrad and Moscow.

It was stressed at the briefing that in order to successfully fight crime and alter these saddening statistics it is necessary to resolve as rapidly as possible the problem of equipping the militia with modern equipment and—the main thing—to give legislative support to their actions.

Ministry Spokesman on Combatting Crime

LD0910223789 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The need to expedite the working out of a national programme to combat crime in the Soviet Union has been pointed out by the chief of the Soviet Interior Ministry's Political Directorate Anatoliy Anikeyev.

He was speaking on Soviet television tonight and said the work on the programme is nearing completion in principle. The programme is intended to pool the efforts of law-and-order agencies and public organisations.

To effectively implement the programme, it must be well provided with material and technical resources and the process of implementation must be strictly controlled.

Only joint efforts of entire society can secure law and order in the country, Anikeyev stressed. These efforts should be aimed primarily at creating necessary social and economic conditions and upgrading legal awareness of all citizens as the respect for law as a motif of citizens' behaviour is no less important for securing legality than protecting legality itself.

Speaking about the operational situation in the country, the Interior Ministry spokesman noted that it continues complicated. Selfishness provides motivation in most crimes, including numerous grave ones. The dominant mentality behind many crimes is that of disregard for human dignity.

The total number of crimes committed in September has dropped by 10.5 per cent as against August, the number of grave crimes fell by 7.5 per cent.

Despite this, the general level of criminality remains high. As a result, militiamen had to use firearms more than 10 times during the past week alone.

Internal Affairs on Prevention of Cargo Theft

18001711 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by V. Niyazmatov (Moscow): "Loads and Seals"]

[Text] A regular briefing at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has included a discussion of measures for stepping up the fight against theft of national economy cargo in transportation.

The fact is that recently, this problem has worsened significantly, as confirmed by the following: While in 1988 the growth of cargo thefts was almost 12 percent, according to results over 8 months of this year this indicator increased to 50.4 percent. The harm that has been caused in certain regions of the country is measured in the hundreds of thousands of rubles. Thus, in the Leningrad trade port a truck was driven away with goods worth almost a half million rubles. On the Northern Caucasus Railroad criminals have stolen almost 2,000 tires for Zhigulis worth a total of more than R100,000. And it is noteworthy that the train with the car containing the tires had stood on the sidings for almost a month actually unattended.

As reported at the press conference, the chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration of the USSR MVD, Lieutenant General of the Internal Service V. Yegorov, said the greatest number of thefts were of automotive agricultural equipment and export-import goods. Thus the proportion of thefts of spare parts for motor vehicles amounts to almost 50 percent of the theft of all cargo in transportation.

It was noted at the press conference that one of the reasons for the thefts was the lack of practically any means of protecting the cargoes. It is paradoxical but a fact: As before, the doors of the cars and containers were held shut with...wire. The plastic and lead seals that are now used are also imperfect and it is easy to make copies

of them. An immense number of them (up to 300,000) are simply lost en route each year because the ropes that are tied to them are ripped and frayed. This situation contributes to all kinds of violations.

It was noted at the press conference that on the initiative of the MVD in conjunction with various specialists, various alternative security devices have been tested: combination locks and dead bolt seals that have been rated positively with experimental use. But, as V. Yegorov said, in spite of the existing situation, certain services of the Ministry of Railways show a lack of interest and sometimes even take a tendentious approach to solving this problem.

We are given hope by the report at the press conference that the Main Administration of Internal Affairs in Transportation of the USSR MVD and the local areas have created specialized services for combating cargo theft and they also include subdivisions for combating theft of export products.

Arkhangelsk Reader Complains of Too Many Prisons

PM0310091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6

[Letter from reader A. Koryapin under the general heading "Unedited Letters": "Oblast or Zone?"]

[Text] Why has Arkhangelsk Oblast been turned into a zone for corrective labor camps? Perhaps those who think our region cursed are right?

Wherever you look there are camps and prisoners all over. But why in our area rather than where they committed the crimes? If only residents of Arkhangelsk Oblast served their sentences here, just one camp would probably be sufficient. Yet local residents are currently being chased out of their villages to allow another zone to be built. Isn't it time to put a stop to this?

Every oblast and republic should reeducate its criminals itself. There is no reason to turn our region into some kind of criminal enclosure. Our people are no worse that the newly arrived Moscow, Riga, and Tashkent people. There should be justice.
[Signed] A. Koryapin, Severoonezhsk village, Arkhangelsk Oblast

Baklanov Tours Kuybyshev Oblast Enterprises

PM2509131189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Responsibility for Perestroyka"]

[Text] Soviet people are becoming more and more actively involved in discussing and resolving the socio-economic and political tasks set by perestroyka. The features of the current point in perestroyka were reflected in the recent TV speech by M.S. Gorbachev.

The assessments and conclusions generate in the party and people the sentiments without which it is impossible to overcome the difficulties occurring on the path of the radical renewal of our society's life. New criteria of assessments are being formed along with the level of responsibility for the fate of perestroyka and its advance toward specific results.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself 12 through 14 September with the perestroyka process in one of our most industrially developed areas—Kuybyshev Oblast. The serious and ingrained backwardness of the social and consumer conditions in which the aircraft builders, metallurgical workers, chemical workers, and machine builders live and work are in stark contrast to the oblast's great and growing contribution to the development of the national economy. Main attention during the party Central Committee secretary's meetings with the Volga people was devoted to eradicating this dangerous distortion.

The most urgent problems worrying people—housing, goods, and food—were the theme of these meetings.

One in every four or five workers at major enterprises in leading sectors now need improved housing conditions. The housing lists are not getting any shorter. What is the solution?

The talks at shops at the Kuybyshev Aircraft Plant, the "Progress," "Imeni M.V. Frunze," and "Polimer" Associations, and the "Zavod imeni Maslennikova" convincingly showed that people know that the chances of a centralized solution to this acute problem are limited. We need new approaches and reserves.

One of the most important ways of tangibly moving this work forward is to develop the economic method of constructing housing and sociocultural buildings, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed.

The creation of a firm basis for the production of construction materials is a key issue in the development of this progressive method. It is hard for separate enterprises to resolve this task. Hence the conclusion that a local construction materials industry should be formed through the joint efforts and means of plants and associations.

The radical economic reform is creating the necessary conditions. It is important to give material form to these opportunities and to channel all our energies into implementing them. However, in a number of the labor collectives visited by the CPSU Central Committee secretary this task has not yet been perceived as highly important. In this situation, he said, we cannot tolerate passivity, freeloading, or reliance purely on the central authorities. In order to resolutely change the situation for the better we need above all responsibility, high demandingness, and initiative from party committees and local soviets.

Many of the discussions focused on the position in the consumer market. People are increasingly concerned by the fact that they are unable to buy the goods they need

with their salaries. The expectations that these goods would be supplied to local stores from somewhere have not been borne out.

This means that we must tackle this work more vigorously ourselves. However, at most enterprises in the oblast this task is still being unsatisfactorily resolved. The CPSU Central Committee secretary saw this for himself when he familiarized himself with the range and volume of goods produced.

For instance, the aircraft builders produce consumer goods worth only 30 kopeks for each ruble of their wages fund. The machine builders at the "Progress" Association do even less for the trading system, and a number of plants have avoided this important work altogether.

The task has been set of bringing production for public consumption up to the level of R1 of goods per ruble of wages fund in the shortest time possible. Incidentally, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, this is the minimum task.

Things are equally acute with food supplies to the oblast workers. Here too, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, we should not count on permanent subsidies.

It is hardly normal that at the Kuybyshev Aircraft Plant, for instance, around 35 kg of meat is produced each yer per worker, whereas only 5kg are produced at the nearby "Polimer" Association in Chapayevsk.

The entire range of these most important issues was examined in detail at the enterprises and at meetings of the aktiv of rayon party organizations and the Chapayevsk City and Oblast party organizations. It has now been decided to include not only local potential but also the capacities of leading ministries and departments whose enterprises are located in the region in the implementation of the problems in the social sphere.

One of the features of Kuybyshev Oblast is that many defense complex enterprises operate in the area. The fact that these advanced sectors are able to exert far greater influence on the region's social development was shown by the decision taken on the results of the CPSU Central Committee secretary's visit. Specific measures to accelerate enterprises' development with a clear emphasis on sharply boosting the social sphere were elaborated with the participation of USSR Ministers B.M. Belousov, A.S. Systsov, and O.N. Shishkin, and the leaders of a number of other ministries and departments along with the oblast leadership.

The logic of economic reform prompted the expediency of creating large associations and amalgamations on the basis of the number of defense enterprises located here. Fundamental agreement was reached on this point.

These concerns, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, and this is borne out by practice, are capable of sharply accelerating the pace of scientific and technical progress and taking the economy to a high level. This would result in a weightier contribution by industry to the resolution of the social problems of the region, which sees its future in the transition to economic accountability.

In the oblast's comprehensive socioeconomic development a great role is played by the resolution of ecological problems. This was discussed at virtually all the installations visited by O.D. Baklanov. He familiarized himself with the Chapayevsk plant intended to handle the elimination of chemical weapons. A government decision has now been made, taking account of public opinion and with the oblast leadership's support, to convert this facility into a training center for the development of chemical weapons destruction technology in an inert environment. The CPSU Central Committee secretary drew specialists' attention to the need to implement this principled decision as soon as possible.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary's meeting with the leaders of party and soviet organs in the city and oblast turned into a frank, self-critical, and acute discussion about how to make the processes of perestroyka more effective.

In particular, it was a question of attitudes toward informal organizations, the cooperative sector, and the need to strengthen socialist legality on a firm legal basis. The discussion participants noted the importance of the growth in the soviets' prestige, the contacts between soviets and party committees, and the more effective cadre policy. The need was emphasized to wage a resolute struggle against those forces which, speculating on real problems and difficulties, are trying to turn us away from the right road.

Serious concern was also voiced about the lowering of trade, contractual, and executive discipline. A consequence of this, the meeting participants said, has been the strikes that have rocked our economy and deepened social tension. The thesis was expressed that in this difficult situation systematic meetings between CPSU and state leaders, primary party organizations, and working people are of particular importance.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that all the questions which emerged and were discussed during the trip are of a businesslike and constructive nature. They reflect the vital interest of the oblast's working people in the success of perestroyka.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied on his visit to the oblast by V.G. Afonin, first secretary of Kuybyshev CPSU Oblast Committee; V.I. Mosychenko, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, USSR ministers, and other party and economic leaders.

Yakovlev Attends Concert for Radio Anniversary

LD1310220189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The thrice-repeated Mayak signature tune, which entered our lives a quarter of a century ago, served

to signal the beginning of a soiree dedicated to the radio station's anniversary, which took place today in the Ostankino Concert studio. [passage omitted]

The assembly gave a warm reception to a speech by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, who was one of those behind the creation of the popular round-the-clock station. [video shows yakovlev addressing the assembly]

Investigation into Pipeline Blast Summarized

PM2509145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "In the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies": "On the Progress of the Investigation of the Accident on the Oil-Product Pipeline in the Bashkir ASSR"]

[Text] The USSR Prosecutor's Office is continuing the investigation of the criminal case in connection with the accident which occurred during the night of 3-4 June 1989 on the West Siberia-Urals-Volga Region oil-product pipeline on the territory of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It has been established that the explosion occurred at a moment when trains No 211 and No 212, which had crossed at the first 100-meter mark of the 1,711-km stretch from Asha to Ulu-Telyak, had passed each other and the distance between their last cars was 18 meters. These cars were derailed as a result of the blast.

With a view to clarifying questions regarding the effect of the wide fraction of light hydrocarbons on the body of the pipeline while in service and the possibility of cryogenic processes arising and cracking the pipe walls as a result, a panel of forensic chemical experts has been set up and is at work. Expert analysis of remnants of welding electrodes discovered at the bottom of the trench at the site of the accident is drawing to a close. The information obtained indicates that these electrodes probably date back to the construction of the oil-product pipeline and have no direct bearing on the accident.

A panel of forensic geological experts has been set up and is trying to establish the mechanism of the formation and the age of the trench at the site of the destruction of the oil-product pipeline.

It has been established that the oil-product pipeline was commissioned and operated without the telemechanical devices necessary to effect local and remote control operation of valves. The telemechanical devices were excluded from the first stage of the construction of the oil-product pipeline by agreement with the general designer, the Krasnodar Gas Refining All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute.

During the investigation, sections of the pipeline adjoining the accident site have been opened up and are being examined. On 1-km sections on both sides of the accident site the pipeline insulation coating is damaged and corrugated and the pipewalls show dents, scores, and scratches similar to those discovered at the site of the explosion. These sections of the pipe are being studied and subjected to expert examinations.

The investigating authorities are taking steps to ascertain when and how the damage to the pipe and insulation occurred and to identify the people who carried out work on the section where the accident occurred.

The investigation has established that during the construction of the oil-product pipeline the technical supervision of construction work by the client—the Almetyevsk administration of major oil-product pipelines—was highly unsatisfactory.

Numerous forensic medical expert examinations are under way and witnesses and victims are being questioned. The investigation is continuing.

With a view to ruling out future accidents on pipelines, the USSR Government has instructed that a draft resolution be drawn up on priority organizational and technical measures to ensure the safe operation of the West Siberia-Urals-Volga region oil-product pipeline and the reliable operation of the entire network of the country's pipelines.

The aforementioned draft resolution presupposes obliging ministries and departments to adopt exhaustive measures to enhance the safety of pipelines, ensure the electrochemical protection of pipelines from corrosion, and tighten normative regulations relating to the design, construction, and operation of major pipelines and their equipment with instruments, automation devices, and other essential equipment. Other measures are also planned, including the commissioning of a system of expert supervision of the quality of construction and installation work at all stages.

Military

Army Daily Rejects Parallels With Bundeswehr

PM1310151789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel Yu. Samylkin article: "Dubious Parallels. Remarks Apropos an Article in SOBESEDNIK"]

[Text] Issue No 37 of SOBESEDNIK carried an article entitled "Time To Play Peaceful Games..." in which author Ivan Andreyev, introduced by the weekly as a diplomat who has worked in the FRG for 5 years, attempted to compare the Bundeswehr with the Soviet Army "without blinkered propaganda and bias." There is nothing reprehensible in this attempt, of course. What is more, some of his opinions really do deserve consideration. Following this consideration, practical conclusions should be drawn for improving the activity of our Armed Forces and enhancing their authority among the people.

But it goes without saying that it was not these opinions that compelled me to take up my pen. I would like to write on those points in the article which, in my view, are at variance with the real state of affairs and will clearly mislead the Soviet reader.

On the day I. Andreyev's article was published, I was in the FRG as part of a military delegation. At the invitation of the Bundeswehr, incidentally, to which the author refers in his article. So, during our stay in that country we experienced the kindness of the West Germans, their unfeigned interest in Soviet perestroyka, and their new attitude to the Soviet Union, which most of them do not consider to be either an enemy or an aggressor any more. But in his article for some reason I. Andreyev makes a big thing of trying to understand "who threatens whom" as seen from the standpoint of the "ordinary person," the "average FRG citizen."

The conclusion to which the author leads the reader is also surprising. It seems that the threat comes from the Soviet Army, which is in a state of constant readiness to begin "large-scale offensive operations." This, he says, is the belief of the "West German," because, according to I. Andreyev, the latter knows for sure that the Soviet soldier is allowed to go on leave only once—for 7-10 days—during his whole service, the rest of the time being spent preparing to march on the West.

What about the Bundeswehr? The Bundeswehr is another matter entirely, according to I. Andreyev. Its barracks are empty on days off and consequently it prepares for war to a lesser extent. That is the simple logic used. As if the Bundeswehr were the only army deployed in the territory of the FRG, without any connection with the hundreds of thousands of soldiers from the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. As if 24-hour combat service were not ensured in this gathering of military might and as if nuclear missile forces were not on standby alert to strike any point in Soviet territory in a matter of minutes. Evidently a Soviet diplomat should be familiar with this kind of material. Or perhaps I am mistaken?

Drawing parallels between the West German Armed Forces and our own, I. Andreyev is definitely inclined in favor of the former. I do not think that it is a question of a lack of patriotism on the part of the author. It is more likely that he simply did not wish to take a closer look at what the West German newspapers write on this score. They, it must be said, are not always enthusiastic about Bundeswehr procedures. Take the issue of DIE WELT published on 16 August this year, for example. It cited facts which certainly do not attest to perfect order in Bundeswehr barracks: 25,000 disciplinary actions in 1988, 83 suicides, 400 attempted suicides, 367 registered cases of drug abuse.... It also pointed out that a cult of violence in the form of bullying flourishes in the barracks.

What, for example, is shown by headlines like these in the West German press: "Commander Calls Subordinates Apes," "Boatswain Pours Catsup and Soapsuds Over Sailors," "Fist Fight in the Bundeswehr"?

Now one particular point which amazed me in the extreme. According to Andreyev, the absence of Bundeswehr representatives in the West German parliament is nothing less than an achievement of democracy. First of all, that is not true. The Bundeswehr is represented in parliament. Second, this point of view is quite the opposite to that expressed by Bundeswehr servicemen. One day we were invited to a sitting of the Bundeswehr union. A group of Bundestag deputies from all the political parties represented in it also took part in its work. A frank, lively discussion ensued. Not only on the problems of European security and disarmament, but also on various aspects of the life and activity of the Soviet Armed Forces and the FRG Armed Forces. When we said that 82 Soviet servicemen are people's deputies and that 9 of them are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet, this information was greeted with applause and a roar of approval from the audience. There was no end to the questions they asked.

With regard to the claim that virtually all the military top brass are represented in Soviet parliament, having got there without going through the stiff test of the election struggle, I must remind you that Soviet servicemen became people's deputies on the same basis as everyone else. Moreover, only one in two members of the military among the registered candidates was destined to join the highest legislative body in the Soviet Union. These are real facts, not abstractions.

If we are going to discuss the political equality of servicemen, it would not hurt to take a look at the law on the legal status of FRG military servicemen. It essentially limits the political activity of West German military servicemen. For example, they do not have the right to take part in the activity of political parties. They cannot participate in rallies and demonstrations when wearing military uniform. Deviations from these instructions are fraught with serious consequences. Remember General G. Bastian, referred to in the article. He was expelled from the Bundeswehr for trying to play an active political role.

On the whole, it seems to me, the parallel drawn by I. Andreyev is not very convincing. Nor, incidentally, is the dubious attempt to contrast the "total militarization of society" in the Soviet Union, where "even young girls have to know how to handle a submachinegun," with the supposedly peaceful Bundeswehr integrated into society.

I do not say that we are free from extremes in this respect. A sense of moderation is sometimes lacking. The empty words and ostentation which substitute for skillful, thoughtful military-patriotic work with young

people are depressing. However, to use these shortcomings of ours to make generalizations about "Soviet militarism" signifies a lack of objectivity, to put it mildly.

I. Andreyev must be aware of the extensive, multifaceted propaganda work with young people in the FRG to instill love and respect for the Bundeswehr. The so-called program to increase the attraction of military service annually swallows up hundreds of millions of marks (it is planned to spend DM400 million on this program in 1990). Special bodies have been established under the FRG Defense Ministry, the Main Staff, and the staffs of the different branches of the Armed Forces. They are in charge of holding "open days" in the units, organizing exhibitions of arms and military hardware, and preparing various propaganda materials on the Bundeswehr, including special movies. A total of 150 specially trained staff officers (officers for work with young people) have been designated for work with young people undergoing predraft training in the staffs and units. They are assisted by some 500 nonstaff assistants selected from the officer and noncommissioned officer corps.

Officers responsible for work with young people conduct classes in the senior grades and instruction-method classes with teaching staff. Since 1987 the Bundeswehr has been assisted in this propaganda work by the NATO command. In particular, instruction courses and seminars for the teaching staff of schools and higher educational establishments in the FRG have been placed on a regular footing.

We also cannot gloss over the thrust of the ideological indoctrination of Bundeswehr servicemen. The FRG military leadership has recently been making extensive use of the services of ex-Wehrmacht personnel to propagandize "great military feats." Maps show FRG territory within the 1937 borders. The song "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles," banned until recently, is now included in the new "Bundeswehr Songbook."

I. Andreyev urges us to "play peaceful games." Well, no one is against that, of course! Surely it would not be a bad thing to organize sports competitions instead of military maneuvers? It is peace, after all, that the Soviet Union consistently and persistently calls for—in this it is unquestionably the pacesetter. It not only calls for peace—it is paving the way to real disarmament through its own example.

However, there is another side to all this. Ivan Andreyev's article was published at a time when "Autumn Forge"—the NATO maneuvers embracing territory from Norway to Turkey and also the Atlantic—was under way in Europe for the 15th time. Maneuvers during which, to put it simply, various scenarios for warfare are rehearsed.

At the same time, the most extensive exercises in the whole of postwar history involving the U.S. Armed Forces and those of its allies in the Asian and Pacific region were in progress along the Far Eastern borders of the Soviet Union—"Pacex-89." They involved more than 200,000 servicemen, some 500 aircraft, and as many as 100 warships, including several American aircraft carriers.

Is the USSR conducting similar ghastly games? No, it is not. I. Andreyev is aware of this, I am sure. But obviously it is one thing to know and quite another to be consistent and objective in one's opinions. It is now fashionable to rail at ourselves and praise the West. That is understandable. After all, we obliviously slapped ourselves on the back for so long. The time has come to take a sober look at our own affairs. In my opinion, political sober-mindedness is important in this respect. We cannot allow an emotional perception of urgent problems to replace properly considered appraisals.